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CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Social Problems and Social Policy

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CARE OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Introduction by
Robert H. Bremner



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Introduction

Nineteen seventy-four marks the one hundredth anniversary of the publication of Samuel Gridley Howe's *Forty-Third Annual Report* in which Howe recounted his work with blind and deaf children since the 1830's. Howe's recognition that mental deficiencies stemmed from numerous and complex causes and his general belief in progress and the improvability of mankind stimulated his interest in the education and training of all severely handicapped groups. The Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-minded Youth was established through his leadership in 1848. Nearly forty years later and a decade after Howe's death, Walter E. Fernald became superintendent and continued and expanded Howe's work. Although both men were associated with institutions for the care of the handicapped they advocated training the disadvantaged to become useful members of the community. By 1924 when Fernald delivered his presidential address to the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-Minded (now the American Association on Mental Deficiency) such aspirations were closer to realization.

Until the early 1890's the only knowledge of feeble-mindedness derived from the experiences and observations of staff members of institutions. Around the turn of the century, application of psychological research to the study of intelligence led to pessimistic approaches to "defectives," as in the emphasis on hereditary criminal traits. Later studies utilizing disciplines such as psychology, endocrinology, and pathology broadened understanding of the many causes of "feeble-mindedness."

Henry H. Goddard, former director of psychological research at the Vineland, New Jersey Training School and Henry C. Storrs, Director of Letchworth Village, New York viewed care and prospects for the mentally retarded from the perspective of a model institution in 1948. Both discuss the multiplication of village-type institutions, refinements in methods of care, and advances in research and understanding which had come about since Fernald's time.

A common thread running from Howe through Fernald to Goddard and Storrs is the belief that the school or institution must adjust to the child rather than the child to an inflexible system. All four saw and emphasized that each child possesses individual aptitude which had to be nurtured. Readers will see in these essays precedents for today's efforts to prepare children to the fullest extent of their capabilities for participation in life both within and outside institutions.

March, 1974
Columbus, Ohio

Robert H. Bremner
Ohio State University

**ACCOUNT OF
SOPHIA AND ABBY CARTER
AND
LAURA BRIDGMAN**

Samuel G[ridley] Howe



LAURA BRIDGMAN TEACHING OLIVER CASWELL TO READ
EMBOSSED LETTERS.

Taken from the Life-sized Portrait by Alvan Fisher.

I will describe a few cases in which blind children, starting in life under unfavorable auspices, have succeeded, and are now doing well.

In the year 1832, while inquiring for blind children suitable for instruction in our projected school, I heard of a family in Andover in which there were several such, and immediately drove out thither with my friend and co-worker, Dr. John D. Fisher. As we approached the toll-house, and halted to pay the toll, I saw by the roadside two pretty little girls, one about six, the other about eight years old, tidily dressed, and standing hand in hand hard by the toll-house. They had come from their home, near by, doubtless to listen, as was their wont, to gossip between the toll-gatherer and the passers-by. On look-

ing more closely, I saw that they were both totally blind. It was a touching and interesting scene—that of two pretty, graceful, attractive little girls, standing hand in hand, and, though evidently blind, with uplifted faces and listening ears, as if brought providentially to meet messengers sent of God, to deliver them out of darkness. If there were depth of soil enough in my mind to nourish superstition, the idea of a providential arrangement of this meeting would have taken deep root. It would, indeed, be hard to find, among a thousand children, two better adapted, irrespective of their blindness, for the purpose of commencing our experiment. They were shy of us at first; but we gained their confidence with some difficulty; after which they led the way to their home in a neighboring farm-house. They were two of a numerous family, the parents of which were substantial, respectable people, and particularly good samples of the farming class of New England. The mother was especially intelligent, and devoted to her children; and much concerned about the barrier which blindness placed in the way of educating the five who were blind. She was much interested in the novel plan for educating the blind, which we explained to her. She had never thought of instructing children through any sense but that of sight; but she soon saw the practicability of the thing, and, being satisfied about our honesty, she consented with joy and hope to our proposition of beginning with her two girls, ABBY and SOPHIA CARTER. In a few days they were brought to Boston, and received into my

father's house, as the first pupils of the first American School for the Blind.

The children were naturally so bright, and docile, and apt at learning, that they easily comprehended our purpose in making them feel of strange signs or types, representing the letters of the alphabet, and tried eagerly to learn. These metal types each bore, upon one end, the raised outlines of a letter, or of an arithmetical or geometrical figure. The children soon learned that, by being placed in certain relative positions, these types represented an apple, or a chair, or some other substantive thing. They soon comprehended that these signs were twenty-six in number. They learned to set them upright in a metal frame perforated with square holes, so that the sign upon the end protrudes above the surface of the frame, and can be felt above it by the finger.

They then learned that there were ten other types, with differently shaped tangible lines upon them, and that they represented the ten arithmetical digits, or figures, one, two, three, etc. Also, four others, representing the stops, and others for marks of interrogation and exclamation ; so that, by forty-six different types, placed in horizontal lines upon the plate, and in various juxtapositions, they could spell out the names of things, ask questions, and express their thoughts concerning the qualities and quantities of all things, for they had learned their native language as other children do, by the ear.

They soon understood that sheets of stiff paste-board, marked by certain crooked lines, represented the boundaries of countries ; rough raised dots repre-

sented mountains ; pins' heads, sticking out here and there, showed the location of towns ; or, on a smaller scale, the boundaries of their own town, the location of the meeting-house, of their own and of the neighboring houses, and the like ; and they were delighted and eager to go on with tireless curiosity. And they did go on until they matured in years, and became themselves teachers, first in our school, afterwards in a private school opened by themselves in their own town. They have continued, up to this day, maintaining excellent characters, supporting themselves comfortably, and helping support their parents as they declined in strength.

THOMAS OAKES, now deceased, was a young man, totally blind, who became a good joiner. The variety and excellence of the work he could do were astonishing ; but I cannot convey a better idea of his capacity and performances than by stating that he prepared the materials, did the joinery of the case, and put in the action of a pianoforte, and finished every part of what was considered a tolerably good instrument. It was long owned and used in the Institution ; and when much worn was preserved for some time as a proof of the ingenuity and good workmanship of a blind man.

GEORGE E ****, who entered our school when a mere boy, became a good scholar and very expert in the use of joiner's tools ; and was employed by us a long time in repairing furniture, and in making wooden ciphering-boards for the blind.

After he graduated, he selected and took for wife a particularly graceful and bright maiden, of whose

personal charms he seemed fully conscious; and, naturally enough, was affected by the sweetness of her voice, and the gentle softness of her manner. He contrived to become owner of a small farm, which he managed skilfully and profitably with his own hands. He kept a horse, some cows, swine, and the like; but he was particularly skilful in the management of poultry, raising choice chickens, and producing fine eggs, with large yolks, and with but little albumen. His acquaintance with the individual character and daily deportment of his cockerels, and his hens, was marvellous. He held the hens to strict account for the number and size of their eggs, excusing them from the daily deposit of a fresh one, only a sufficient number of days for regular laying. He allowed them to brood their young only a sufficient number of weeks; and then he thwarted the maternal affection, and required them to go to laying eggs, on pain of deprivation of bone-dust, gravel and grain.

George did jobs of carpentry and joinery for his neighbors; and did them well. He was methodical in all things; and particularly economical in regard to the use of time. Though every day was a "king in disguise," George always saw through the disguise, and made the king promote his business.

I was driving by his house late one dark night, and was attracted by the sound of a hammer up in the air, as it seemed; and I stopped my horse in the road opposite, or rather under where the hammering seemed to be, and listened. Bang! bang! bang! went the hammer, like a woodpecker's

beak tapping a hollow beech tree. "Who's up there?" cried I, in my natural voice. "It's me, Doctor," came the answer in the familiar notes of George E. "Why, what in wonder's name, George, are you doing up there in the air, and at this time of a pitch-dark night?" "Oh!" said he, cheerily, "I am shingling part of the roof of my barn, and have no time to do it in the day-time. But what are you driving at, Doctor, out in the country?" said George; "however, in any case, come into my house and take a bite of something hot—wife has not gone to bed yet, I guess."

Leaving my former pupil and friend (George E.) carpenter, farmer, trader, and jack-of-all-trades, I will proceed to show by example how usefully and happily blind women may be employed. I know one, educated in our Girl's School, who was distinguished by her good temper, general cleverness, and remarkable faculty for turning her hand to anything.

E. H., a comely, buxom maiden, formerly a pupil of mine, will excuse me for telling how she did, by her sweet voice, and soft smile, and winning ways, inveigle a respectable young mechanic, upon whom she had never laid eyes, into marriage. After which, with blind confidence in her own ability, she proceeded to take charge of a household, and to do all the duties of wife, mother, and housekeeper, without aid from any domestic.

She arose every morning at an hour when ordinary people need gas-light, lamps or candles, and all in the darkness proceeded to make a fire in her

cooking-stove, and to sweep the room. She then set to work, getting breakfast. She mixed the materials for the indispensable buckwheat cakes. She laid out upon the pine table a nice white cloth, and put on the cups, and saucers, and table-spoons, and salts, and by each plate placed knife, fork, spoon and napkin; she got out the pats of fresh butter, the cream and sugar. Then she proceeded to broil, boil, fry or bake whatever articles were to be eaten at the meal. All was made ready at the usual hour; and Elizabeth, arranging her hair, and smoothing down her white apron, without running to the looking-glass, greeted her husband, who came in hurrying from his work, and sat down to eat a breakfast smoking hot, with as good an appetite as that of his smiling and attentive wife, who had prepared it, and was ready to join and help him to dispose of it.

She was an excellent housekeeper, expert in the art of cookery, orderly, tidy, frugal, and very industrious; and made an exemplary wife, mother and companion. She was indeed a person of extraordinary capacity and cleverness; and therefore I never wondered at her ability to keep house. Indeed, our wonder at the ease and excellence with which a blind person may come to do these things, will diminish if we consider how much we ourselves can do in the dark, especially if we are young, strong, and pushed by hard necessity. Most people can get out of bed in their own house at midnight; and, if unable to strike a light, can proceed to dress themselves, to grope about in the pitchy darkness, to get a tumbler from the closet, to pump

water from the kitchen pump, or even draw it fresh and sparkling with the "iron-bound bucket, the moss-covered bucket, that hangs in the well." They can cut a slice of bread and cheese; and either prepare and eat a breakfast, or brush their coat, hat and boots, put on outer clothing suitable to the weather, and go forth to find that light is faintly breaking through the clouds on the eastern horizon. Such circumstances make them realize, in some degree, the comfort and advantages of light, and hope for the coming day. But they would not feel utterly wretched and hopeless if they found that darkness was to prevail for a week or a month; but they would join their families and friends and go about some business, or do the things upon their premises which were most needful, such as feeding the cattle and fowls, getting in firewood, and groping their way to the baker's and butcher's, which way would soon become as familiar as that from one room to another in the house. So the long night before blind persons does not necessarily seem to them cheerless and objectless. The thought of it is not necessarily sad; but, on the contrary, they find a thousand things to interest them, and discover that the pleasure of intercourse with wife and children, with relatives, friends and neighbors, does not depend upon seeing their faces and persons, but upon being near them, and conversing with them. Thus a man becoming blind is soon convinced that the exercise of his affections, and of his moral nature, gives him the same pleasure as when he saw; and ere long, leaving off repining, he

comes to take as much interest in all those relations as he did before it was dark.

Children totally blind, and totally deaf, and for a time deprived of the sense of smell, are very rare: but such exist; and two of them,

LAURA BRIDGMAN AND OLIVER CASWELL,

deserve especial notice.

These two persons, although totally blind and deaf, and therefore speechless, succeeded in learning to work so well as to earn a livelihood. I intend to write out a full account of the method which I devised to instruct them, and therefore shall say no more here than will serve to illustrate the matter in hand; to wit, the capacity of blind persons to work and thereby to support themselves. And these will serve the purpose well, because, if they who, besides lacking sight, lacked also another important sense, can do it, a portion of those who still have, in addition, the sense of hearing, can do it.

Only three or four cases of this kind are mentioned in history, and those but vaguely, and without any distinct fact, save that of the combined blindness and mutism.

The question has been discussed by writers on the philosophy of education, whether beings in human form, but so closely shorn of those senses requisite for communing with the outer world, could be taught any systematic language for such communion. The renowned Abbé Sicard, of France, naturally proud of his success, and of his eminent authority in matters connected with the education of deaf-mutes, formed

the opinion, in his learned speculations, that they might be, and he made some rough observations about his mode of procedure, should such a case ever come to his knowledge. But none ever came to his knowledge, or to that of any other regular teacher, in any language with which I am acquainted. It was, therefore, considered as an open question whether such a person, if found, could be taught any system of signs which would serve for a language; but Sicard did not venture, I think, to suggest any way by which it could be done. I often, while reading or thinking of the matter, had asked myself the same question, soon after becoming familiar with the usual methods of teaching the blind and the deaf-mutes, and I resolved to make the attempt to teach the first one I should hear of. When, therefore, I read in a country paper an account, written by Dr. Muzzey, of a girl in New Hampshire said to be devoid of sight, hearing and smell, I started forthwith to ascertain the facts of the case.

I found in a little village in the mountains, a pretty and lively girl, about six years old, who was totally blind and deaf, and who had only a very indistinct sense of smell; so indistinct that, unlike other young deaf-mutes, who are continually smelling at things, she did not smell even at her food. This sense afterwards developed itself a little, but was never much used or relied upon by her. She lost her senses by scarlet fever so early that she has no recollection of any exercise of them. Her father was a substantial farmer; and his wife a very intelligent woman. My proposal to try to give regular instruction to the

child seemed to be a very wild one. But the mother, a woman of considerable natural ability, animated by warm love for her daughter, eagerly assented to my proposal, and in a few days little Laura was brought to my house in Boston, and placed under regular instruction by lessons improvised for the occasion.

I shall not here anticipate what I intend to write about her, further than to say that I required her by signs, which she soon came to understand, to devote several hours a day to learning to use her hands, and to acquiring command of her muscles and limbs. But my principal aim and hope was to enable her to recognize the twenty-six signs which represent the letters of the alphabet. She submitted to the process patiently, though without understanding its purpose.

I will here give a rough sketch of the means which I contrived for her mental development. I first selected short monosyllables, so that the sign which she was to learn might be as simple as possible. I placed before her, on the table, a pen and a pin, and then, making her take notice of the fingers of one of my hands, I placed them in the three positions used as signs of the manual alphabet of deaf-mutes, for the letters *p e n*, and made her feel of them, over and over again, many times, so that they might be associated together in her mind. I did the same with the pin, and repeated it scores of times. She at last perceived that the signs were complex, and that the middle sign of the one, that is, the *e*, differed from the middle sign of the other, that is, *i*. This was the first step gained. This process was repeated over and over, hundreds of times, until, finally, the asso-

ciation was established in her mind between the sign composed of three signs, and expressed by three positions of my fingers, and the article itself, so that when I held up the pen to her she would herself make the complex sign; and when I made the complex sign on my fingers, she would triumphantly pick up the pen, and hold it up before me, as much as to say, "This is what you want."

Then the same process was gone over with the pin, until the association in her mind was intimate and complete between the two articles, and the complex positions of the fingers. She had thus learned two arbitrary signs, or the names of the two different things. She seemed conscious of having understood and done what I wanted, for she smiled, while I exclaimed, inwardly and triumphantly, "εὐοῦχα! εὐοῦχα!" I now felt that the first step had been taken successfully, and that this was the only really difficult one, because by continuing the same process by which she had become enabled to distinguish two articles, by two arbitrary signs, she could go on and learn to express in signs two thousand, and, finally, the forty and odd thousand signs, or words in the English language.

Having learned that the sign for these two articles, *pin* and *pen*, was composed of three signs, she would perceive that in order to learn the names for other things, she had got to learn other signs. I went on with monosyllables, as being the simplest, and she learned gradually one sign of a letter from another, until she knew all the arbitrary, tangible twenty-six letters of the alphabet, and how to arrange them to express various objects: knife,

fork, spoon, thread, and the like. Afterwards she learned the names of the ten numerals or digits; of the punctuation and exclamation and interrogation points, some forty-six in all. With these she could express the name of everything, of every thought, of every feeling, and all the numberless shades thereof. She had thus got the "*open sesame*" to the whole treasury of the English language. She seemed aware of the importance of the process; and worked at it eagerly and incessantly, taking up various articles, and inquiring by gestures and looks what signs upon her fingers were to be put together in order to express their names. At times she was too radiant with delight to be able to conceal her emotions.

It sometimes occurred to me that she was like a person alone and helpless in a deep, dark, still pit, and that I was letting down a cord and dangling it about, in hopes she might find it; and that finally she would seize it by chance and, clinging to it, be drawn up by it into the light of day, and into human society. And it did so happen; and thus she, instinctively and unconsciously, aided in her happy deliverance. After she had mastered the system of arbitrary signs, made by the various positions of the fingers used by deaf-mutes and called dactylology, the next process was to teach her to recognize the same signs in types, with the outlines of the letters embossed upon their ends. Thus with types, two embossed with *p*, two with *n*, one with *e*, and another with *i*, she could, by setting them side by side in the quadrilateral holes in the blind man's slate, make the sign of *pen* or *pin*, as she wished; and so with other signs.

The next process was to teach her that when a certain kind of paper was pressed firmly upon the ends of these types, held close together and side by side, there would be a tangible sign on the reverse of the paper, as *pin* or *pen*, according to the position of the three types; that she could feel of this paper, distinguish the letters, and so read; and that these signs could be varied and multiplied, and put together in order, and so make a book.

Then she was provided with types having the outlines of the letters made with projecting pin-points, which, when pressed upon stiffened paper, pierced through, and left a dotted outline of each letter upon the reverse side. This, she soon ascertained, could serve for writing down whatever she desired, and be read by herself; and also could be addressed to friends, and sent to them by mail.

She was also taught to write letters and words with a lead-pencil, by the aid of the French writing-board, which is the most simple, most effective, and cheapest method ever yet invented. This apparatus is made out of a piece of stiff pasteboard, of the size of a common sheet of letter-paper, and has grooved lines or channels, about the eighth of an inch deep, running, an inch apart, transversely across the pasteboard plate. This pasteboard is inserted between the two pages of a common sheet of letter-paper, and the first leaf is pressed with the forefinger into the grooves. This leaves depressions or channels, the upper and lower edge of which can be felt by the pencil-point, and this, a little pressed, leaves it marked with an *o*, or an *l*, or a *t*. The sides of the grooves also give to the

paper which is pressed between them rounded edges, so that the pencil can slide upwards and downwards over and under them, and also be guided from left to right.*

It would occupy more space than can be spared here to explain how, after she had learned the names of substantive nouns, or names of things in the concrete, she came to understand words expressive of the various material, or moral qualities thereof. The process was slow and difficult, but I was so aided by her native shrewdness and her love for learning new things, that success followed. For instance, she knew that some girls and women of her acquaintance were very sweet and amiable in their tempers, because they treated her so kindly, and caressed her so constantly. She knew, also, that others were quite different in their deportment; that they avoided or repelled her, and were abrupt in their motions and gestures while in contact with her; and might be called, therefore, sour in their tempers. By a little skill she was made to associate in her mind, the first person with a sweet apple, the other with a sour apple, and so there was a sign for a moral quality. This is a rough illustration; but it is hard to explain the process by which any children come to understand the names of things in the abstract, or moral qualities. Success came of faith, and patience, and reliance upon her having the native desire and capacity for acquiring a com-

* I commend this simple apparatus, not only to blind persons, but to those who are incapacitated from using their sight in writing. With a very little practice one can write with it easily and legibly. It is so small and light that it can be carried in a portfolio. It may be had at our store, 20 Bromfield Street, at cost price—from fifteen to twenty-five cents, according to quality.

plete arbitrary language, which desire had now become quickened to a passion for learning new signs. Moreover, I was greatly aided from the start by young lady teachers, who became in love with the work, and devoted themselves to it with saintly patience and perseverance. Then great assistance was given by the blind pupils, many of whom learned the manual alphabet and took every opportunity of using it and conversing with Laura. Thus early in the process the material and moral advantages of language began to show themselves. Without it the girls could only manifest their interest in Laura, and their affection for her, as one does with a baby, by caresses, sugar-plums and other gifts, and by leading her up and down, and helping her in various ways. With it they began human intercourse through regular language.

And so she went on, diligently and happily, for a score or more of years, until at last she acquired a large vocabulary of words, and could converse readily and rapidly with all deaf-mutes, and all persons who could use these signs. She could read printed books readily and easily; finding out for herself, for instance, any chapter and verse of Scripture. She could also read letters from her friends in pricked type, or by the Braille system of points. She could also write down her own thoughts and experiences in a diary; and could keep up a correspondence with her family and friends by sending to them letters in pencil, and receiving their answers either in pricked letters, which she could read by the touch, or letters

written with ink or pencil, which could be read to her by some confidential seeing person.

Thus was she happily brought at last into easy and free relations with her fellow creatures; and made one of the human family.

I take this opportunity, to say that Laura is now about forty-four years old. Her father has recently died; and the little property which he thoughtfully left for his widow, and this, the most dearly beloved of his children, has been very selfishly, ungenerously, and, as I think, unlawfully misappropriated by some relatives; so that Laura and her aged mother must bear such unkind treatment in the old homestead, that they continue to live in it only through the lack of means of living elsewhere.

Laura has for many years contrived to earn a little money by making bead-baskets and other trinkets; and she has the interest of two thousand dollars bequeathed to her by her excellent friends, Mrs. Abby, and her daughter, Abby M. Loring. She has also a home during the cold season at the Institution; but still she barely receives enough for necessary articles of dress, whereas she has a feminine delight in personal ornamentation: she loves to have showy and fashionable dresses, bonnets, and the like, and trinkets for her dressing-table; and it would give me great pleasure to gratify her innocent taste to a reasonable, and even to a little unreasonable, degree.

Any persons disposed to make any addition to the Loring Fund, can do so by remitting to me, or to the Treasurer of the Institution, with explanations of their wishes.

During many years Laura passed most of her time in exercises such as those above described; new ones being devised as she proceeded. She spent as many hours daily in her studies and mental work as was consistent with her health; but all the rest of the time was given to gymnastics, or learning to handle domestic implements, as the broom, the dish-cloth and the needle; to sew, to knit, to braid, to occupy herself in simple house-work, sweeping floors, dusting furniture, making beds; finally, to more difficult kinds of work, as crochet-work, and the like.

In all these things she succeeded so well, that she is now capable of earning a livelihood as assistant to any kind and intelligent housekeeper who would accommodate her work to Laura's ways.

The method of instruction was, of course, novel, and the process long and tedious, extending over several years, until she came to be able to read and understand books in raised letters; to mark down variously shaped signs upon a grooved paper, and so write letters legible by the eye; to attain a pretty wide command of the words of the English language, to spell them out rapidly and correctly, and so express her thoughts in visible signs, and in good English. To make all this fully understood by specimens of her style as she used the language of childhood, will require a good-sized volume; and I confine myself now merely to saying that in the course of twenty years she was enabled to do it all. She has attained such facility for talking in the manual alphabet, that I regret that I did not try also to teach her to speak by the vocal organs, or regular speech. The few words which she

has learned to pronounce audibly prove that she could have learned more.

I propose to give later a minute account of the instruction of this dear child, and the condition into which it has brought her: but I must limit myself here to an expression of the thought and principle which gave me courage to begin, and perseverance to finish the work.

**THE HISTORY
OF THE
TREATMENT
OF THE
FEEBLE-MINDED**

Walter E. Fernald

IX.

The Feeble-minded.

THE HISTORY OF THE TREATMENT OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED.

BY WALTER E. FERNALD, M.D.

The first recorded attempt to educate an idiot was made about the year 1800, by Itard, the celebrated physician-in-chief to the National Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Paris, upon a boy found wild in a forest in the centre of France, and known as the "savage of Aveyron." "This boy could not speak any human tongue, and was devoid of all understanding and knowledge." Believing him to be a savage, for five years Itard endeavored with great skill and perseverance to develop at the same time the intelligence of his pupil and the theories of the materialistic school of philosophy. Itard finally became convinced that this boy was an idiot, and abandoned the attempt to educate him.

In the year 1818 and for a few years afterward, several idiotic children were received and given instruction at the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb at Hartford, and a fair degree of improvement in physical condition, habits, and speech was obtained.

In the year 1828 Dr. Ferret, physician at the Bicêtre in Paris, attempted to teach a few of the more intelligent idiots who were confined in this hospital to read and write and to train them to habits of cleanliness and order. In 1831 Dr. Fabret attempted the same work at the Salpêtrière; and in 1833 Dr. Voisin opened his private school for idiots in Paris. None of these attempts was successful enough to insure its continuance.

In 1837 Dr. E. Seguin, a pupil of Itard and Esquirol, began the private instruction of idiots at his own expense. In 1842 he was made the instructor of the school at the Bicêtre, which had been

reopened by Dr. Voisin in 1839. Dr. Seguin remained at the Bicêtre only one year, retiring to continue the work in his private school in the Hospice des Incurables. After seven years of patient work and experiments and the publication of two or three pamphlets describing the work, a committee from the Academy of Sciences at Paris in 1844 examined critically and thoroughly his methods of training and educating idiot children, and reported to the Academy, giving it the highest commendation and declaring that, up to the time he commenced his labors in 1837, idiots could not be educated by any means previously known or practised, but that he had solved the problem. His work thus approved by the highest authority, Dr. Seguin continued his private school in Paris until the Revolution in 1848, when he came to America, where he was instrumental in establishing schools for idiots in various States.

In 1846 Dr Seguin published his classical and comprehensive "Treatise on Idiocy," which was crowned by the Academy and has continued to be the standard text-book for all interested in the education of idiots up to the present time. His elaborate system of teaching and training idiots consisted in the careful "adaptation of the principles of physiology, through physiological means and instruments, to the development of the dynamic, perceptive, reflective, and spontaneous functions of youth." This physiological education of defective brains as a result of systematic training of the special senses, the functions, and the muscular system, was looked upon as a visionary theory, but has been verified and confirmed by modern experiments and researches in physiological psychology.

Dr. Seguin's school was visited by scientists and philanthropists from nearly every part of the civilized world, and, his methods bearing the test of experience, other schools were soon established in other countries, based upon these methods.

In 1842 Dr. Guggenbuhl established a school upon the slope of the Abendenberg in Switzerland, for the care and training of cretins, so many of whom are found in the dark, damp valleys of the Alps. This school was very successful in its results, and attracted much attention throughout Europe. At Berlin, in 1842, a school for the instruction of idiots was opened by Dr. Saegert. In England the publication of the results of the work of Drs. Seguin, Guggenbuhl, and Saegert, and the efforts of Drs. Connolly and Reed, led to the establishment of a private school at Bath in 1846, and later to the finely appointed establishments at Colchester and Earlswood.

The published description of the methods and results of these European schools attracted much interest and attention in America. In this country the necessity and humanity of caring for and scientifically treating the insane, the deaf and dumb, and the blind had become the policy of many of our most progressive States. The class of helpless and neglected idiots who had no homes, as a rule were cared for in jails and poorhouses. A few idiots who had been received at the special schools for the deaf and dumb and the blind showed considerable improvement after a period of training. Other cases who were especially troublesome had been sent to the insane hospitals, where it was shown that the habits and behavior of this class could be changed very much for the better. In their reports for 1845 Drs. Woodward and Brigham, superintendents of the State Insane Hospitals in Massachusetts and New York respectively, urged the necessity of making public provision for the education of idiots in those States. On the 13th of January, 1846, Dr. F. P. Backus, a member of the New York Senate, made the first step toward any legislative action in this country in behalf of idiots, by moving that the portion of the last State census relating to idiots be referred to the committee on medical societies of which he was chairman. On the following day he made an able report, giving the number of idiots in the State, a brief history of the European schools, with a description of their methods and results, and showed conclusively that schools for idiots were a want of the age. On the 25th of March following he introduced a bill providing for the establishment of an asylum for idiots. The bill passed the Senate, but was defeated in the Assembly.

In Massachusetts, on the 23d of January in the same year, 1846, Judge Byington, a member of the House of Representatives, moved an order providing for the appointment of a committee to "consider the expediency of appointing commissioners to inquire into the condition of idiots in the Commonwealth, to ascertain their number, and whether anything can be done for their relief." This order was passed, and, as a result, a board of three commissioners was appointed, of which Dr. S. G. Howe was chairman. This commission made a report in part in 1847, which included a letter from Hon. G. S. Sumner, in which he described in glowing terms the methods and results of the school of Dr. Seguin in Paris. In March, 1848, the commission made a complete and exhaustive report, with statisti-

cal tables and minute details, and recommended the opening of an experimental school. This report was widely circulated and read throughout America and Europe, and furnishes to-day the basis of cyclopedic literature on this topic.

By a resolve passed on the 8th of May, 1848, the legislature appropriated \$2,500 annually for the purpose of establishing an experimental school, with the proviso that ten indigent idiots from different parts of the State should be selected for instruction. This act founded the first State institution in America. The first pupil was received on the 1st of October, 1848. The direction of the school was undertaken by Dr. Howe, and for several years was carried on in connection with the Perkins Institution for the Blind, of which he was the director. Mr. J. B. Richards, an able instructor, was engaged as teacher, and went to Europe to study the methods of the foreign schools. The school was considered so successful that, at the end of three years, the legislature doubled the annual appropriation, and by incorporation converted the experimental school into a permanent one under the name of "The Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-minded Youth."

Two months after the legislature had authorized the establishment of the Massachusetts School, a private school was opened at Barre, Mass., by Dr. H. B. Wilbur, the first pupil being received in July, 1848. In the modest announcement of the project Dr. Wilbur says, "This institution is designed for the education and management of all children who by reason of mental infirmity are not fit subjects for ordinary school instruction." The school was organized on the family plan. The pupils all sat at the same table with the principal, and were constantly under the supervision of some member of the family in the hours of recreation and rest as well as of training. This private school has been continued on the same plan, and has been very successful and prosperous under the administration of Dr. Wilbur and that of his able successor, the late Dr. George Brown.

In the State of New York the legislative attempt defeated in 1846 was renewed in 1847, and this bill also passed the Senate, to be again defeated in the Assembly. The necessity for action was urged in the governor's annual messages in the years 1848, 1850, and 1851. Finally, in July, 1851, an act was passed appropriating \$6,000 annually for two years, for the purpose of maintaining an experimen-

tal school for idiots. A suitable building, near Albany, was rented and the school opened in October, 1851. The trustees selected for superintendent Dr. H. B. Wilbur, who had so successfully organized and conducted the private school at Barre, Mass., for more than three years previously. In the first annual report of the trustees, published in 1851, the aims and purposes of the proposed school were summed up as follows:—

We do not propose to create or supply faculties absolutely wanting; nor to bring all grades of idiocy to the same standard of development or discipline; nor to make them all capable of sustaining creditably all the relations of a social and moral life; but rather to give to dormant faculties the greatest possible development, and to apply these awakened faculties to a useful purpose under the control of an aroused and disciplined will. At the base of all our efforts lies the principle that, as a rule, none of the faculties are absolutely wanting, but dormant, undeveloped, and imperfect.

This school attracted much attention from educators and others, and was frequently and critically inspected by the members of the legislature and other State officials. On the 11th of April, 1853, the legislature authorized the erection of new buildings. The citizens of Syracuse donated the land, and the corner-stone of the first structure in this country built expressly for the purpose of caring for and training idiots was laid Sept. 8, 1854. The school at Syracuse continued under Dr. Wilbur's direction until his death in 1883. In this school the physiological method of education has been most thoroughly and scientifically carried out, and a high degree of success attained.

Pennsylvania was the third State to take up the work. In the winter of 1852 a private school for idiots was opened in Germantown, by Mr. J. B. Richards, the first teacher in the school at South Boston. This school was incorporated April 7, 1853, as the Pennsylvania Training School for Idiotic and Feeble-minded Children. The first money received for its support was raised by private subscription, and the State contributed an equal sum. In 1855 the present site at Elwyn was secured, and the foundations laid for the present magnificent institution village with nearly a thousand inmates.

The Ohio Institution at Columbus was established April 17, 1857, and pupils were received the same year. The State of Ohio has

from the beginning provided for her feeble-minded children on a more liberal and generous scale than any other State. The Columbus Institution, with its substantial buildings and splendid equipment, its admirably conducted school and industrial departments, has been made one of the best institutions in the world devoted to the care and training of this special class.

In Connecticut, in 1855, a State commission was appointed to investigate the conditions of the idiotic population, and to consider the advisability of making suitable provision for the education of this class. The report of this commission resulted in the establishment of the Connecticut School for Imbeciles at Lakeville, in 1858, under the superintendency of Dr. H. M. Knight. This school, although aided by the State, has been largely supported by private benevolence and payments from private pupils.

The Kentucky Institution at Frankfort was opened in 1860. For many years previously the State had granted an allowance of \$50 per annum to each needy family afflicted with the burden of a feeble-minded child. In Illinois an experimental school for idiots and feeble-minded children was opened in 1865 as an offshoot of the school for deaf-mutes at Jacksonville. In the course of a few years this school obtained a separate organization, and new institution buildings were constructed at Lincoln and occupied in 1873. The Hillside Home, a private school, was opened at Fayville, Mass., in 1870.

Thus, up to 1874, twenty-six years after this work was begun in America, public institutions for the feeble-minded had been established in seven States. These institutions then had under training a total of 1,041 pupils. There were also the two private institutions in Massachusetts at Barre and Fayville, with a total of 69 inmates.

The early history of these pioneer State institutions in many respects was very similar. They were practically all begun as tentative experiments in the face of great public distrust and doubt as to the value of the results to be obtained. In Connecticut the commissioners found a "settled conviction of a large majority of the citizens of the Commonwealth that idiots were a class so utterly helpless that it was a waste of time even to collect any statistics regarding them." Very little was known of the causes, frequency, nature, or varieties of idiocy, or of the principles and methods to be employed in successfully training and caring for this class of persons.

The annual reports of the early superintendents, Drs. Howe, Wilbur, Brown, Parrish, and Knight, exhaustively considered the subject in all relations, and graphically presented to legislators and the public convincing and unanswerable reasons as to the feasibility and necessity of granting to feeble-minded children according to their ability the same opportunities for education that were given to their more fortunate brothers and sisters in the public schools.

All of these schools were organized as strictly educational institutions. In one of his earlier reports Dr. Howe says, "It is a link in the chain of common schools,—the last indeed, but still a necessary link in order to embrace all the children in the State." Again he says, "This institution, being intended for a school, should not be converted into an asylum for incurables." Dr. Wilbur, in his seventh annual report, says, "A new institution in a new field of education has the double mission of securing the best possible results, and at the same time of making that impression upon the public mind as will give faith in its object." With the limited capacity of these schools as established, it seemed best to advocate the policy of admitting only the higher-grade cases, where the resulting improvement and development could be compared with that of normal children.

It was hoped and believed that a large proportion of this higher-grade or "improvable" class of idiots could be so developed and educated that they would be capable of supporting themselves and of creditably maintaining an independent position in the community. It was maintained that the State should not assume the permanent care of these defectives, but that they should be returned to their homes after they had been trained and educated. It was the belief of the managers that only a relatively small number of inmates could be successfully cared for in one institution. It was deemed unwise to congregate a large number of persons suffering under any common infirmity.

Nearly every one of these early institutions was opened at or near the capitals of their various States, in order that the members of the legislature might closely watch their operations and personally see their need and the results of the instruction and training of these idiots. No institution was ever abandoned or given up after having been established. In all of the institutions the applications for admission were far in excess of their capacity.

In the course of a few years, in the annual reports of these institutions we find the superintendents regretting that it was not expedient to return to the community a certain number of the cases who had received all the instruction the school had to offer. When the limit of age was reached, it was a serious problem to decide what should be done with the trained boy or girl. It was found that only a small proportion, even of these selected pupils, could be so developed and improved that they could go out into the world and support themselves independently. A larger number, as a result of the school discipline and training, could be taken home where they became comparatively harmless and unobjectionable members of the family, capable, under the loving and watchful care of their friends, of earning by their labor as much as it cost to maintain them. But in many cases the guardians of these children were unwilling to remove them from the institution, and begged that they might be allowed to remain where they could be made happy and kept from harm. Many of these cases were homeless and friendless, and, if sent away from the school, could only be transferred to almshouses where they became depraved and demoralized by association with adult paupers and vagrants of both sexes. It was neither wise nor humane to turn these boys and girls out to shift for themselves. The placing out of these feeble-minded persons always proved unsatisfactory. Even those who had suitable homes and friends able and willing to become responsible for them, by the death of these relatives were thrown on their own resources and drifted into pauperism and crime. It gradually became evident that a certain number of these higher-grade cases needed lifelong care and supervision, and that there was no suitable provision for this permanent custody outside these special institutions.

Once it was admitted that our full duty toward this class must include the retention and guardianship of some of these cases who had been trained in the schools, the wisdom and necessity of still further broadening the work became apparent. It was found that more than one-half of the applications for admission, and those by far the most insistent, were in behalf of the "unimprovables," as Dr. Howe described them. This lower class of idiots, many of them with untidy, disgusting, and disagreeable habits, feeble physically, perhaps deformed and misshapen, often partially paralyzed or subject to epilepsy, cannot be given suitable care at home. There is no

greater burden possible in a home or a neighborhood. It has been well said that by institution care, for every five idiots cared for we restore four productive persons to the community; for, whereas at home the care of each of these children practically requires the time and energies of one person, in an institution the proportion of paid employees is not over one to each five inmates. The home care of a low-grade idiot consumes so much of the working capacity of the wage-earner of the household that often the entire family become pauperized. Humanity and public policy demanded that these families should be relieved of the burden of these helpless idiots. From the nature of their infirmities it is evident that the care of this class must last as long as they live. As nearly every one of these low-grade idiots eventually becomes a public burden, it is better to assume this care when they are young and susceptible of a certain amount of training than to receive them later on, undisciplined, helpless, destructive, adult idiots.

The brighter class of the feeble-minded, with their weak will power and deficient judgment, are easily influenced for evil, and are prone to become vagrants, drunkards, and thieves. The modern scientific study of the deficient and delinquent classes as a whole has demonstrated that a large proportion of our criminals, inebriates, and prostitutes are really congenital imbeciles, who have been allowed to grow up without any attempt being made to improve or discipline them. Society suffers the penalty of this neglect in an increase of pauperism and vice, and finally, at a greatly increased cost, is compelled to take charge of adult idiots in almshouses and hospitals, and of imbecile criminals in jails and prisons, generally during the remainder of their natural lives. As a matter of mere economy, it is now believed that it is better and cheaper for the community to assume the permanent care of this class before they have carried out a long career of expensive crime.

Dr. Kerlin has ably presented to this Conference the special subject of moral imbecility. This class of moral imbeciles may show little or no deficiency of the intellectual faculties, but in early childhood manifest a marked absence or perversion of the moral sense, as shown by motiveless, persistent lying and thieving, a blind and headlong impulse toward arson, and a delight in cruelty to animals or to young, helpless companions. These children, if they live, are predestined to become inmates of our insane hospitals or jails, and

for the good of the community should be early recognized and subjected to lifelong moral quarantine.

Dr. Kerlin, in his report to this Conference in 1884, says:—

There is no field of political economy which can be worked to better advantage, for the diminution of crime, pauperism, and insanity, than that of idiocy. The early recognition of some of its special and more dangerous forms should be followed by their withdrawal from unwholesome environments and their permanent sequestration before they are pronounced criminals and have, by the tuition of the slums, acquired a precocity that deceives even experts. Only a small percentage should ever be returned to the community, and then only under conditions that would preclude the probability of their assuming social relations under marriage, or becoming sowers of moral and physical disease under the garb of professional tramps and degraded prostitutes. How many of your criminals, inebriates, and prostitutes are congenital imbeciles! How many of your insane are really feeble-minded or imbecile persons, wayward or neglected in their early training, and at last conveniently housed in hospitals, after having wrought mischief, entered social relations, reproduced their kind, antagonized experts and lawyers, puzzled philanthropists, and in every possible manner retaliated on their progenitors for their origin, and on the community for their misapprehension! How many of your incorrigible boys, lodged in the houses of refuge, to be half educated in letters and wholly unreached in morals, are sent into the community the moral idiots they were at the beginning, only more powerfully armed for mischief! And pauperism breeding other paupers, what is it but imbecility let free to do its mischief?

The tendency to lead dissolute lives is especially noticeable in the females. A feeble-minded girl is exposed as no other girl in the world is exposed. She has not sense enough to protect herself from the perils to which women are subjected. Often bright and attractive, if at large they either marry and bring forth in geometrical ratio a new generation of defectives and dependants, or become irresponsible sources of corruption and debauchery in the communities where they live. There is hardly a poorhouse in this land where there are not two or more feeble-minded women with from one to four illegitimate children each. There is every reason in morality, humanity, and public policy that these feeble-minded women should be under permanent and watchful guardianship, especially during the child-bearing age. A feeble-minded girl of the higher grade was accepted as a pupil at the Massachusetts School

for the Feeble-minded when she was fifteen years of age. At the last moment the mother refused to send her to the school, as she "could not bear the disgrace of publicly admitting that she had a feeble-minded child." Ten years later the girl was committed to the institution by the court, after she had given birth to six illegitimate children, four of whom were still living and all feeble-minded. The city where she lived had supported her at the almshouse for a period of several months at each confinement, had been compelled to assume the burden of the life-long support of her progeny, and finally decided to place her in permanent custody. Her mother had died broken-hearted several years previously.

Modern usage has sanctioned the use of the term "feeble-minded" to include all degrees and types of congenital defect, from that of the simply backward boy or girl but little below the normal standard of intelligence to the profound idiot, a helpless, speechless, disgusting burden, with every degree of deficiency between these extremes. The lack may be so slight as to involve only the ability to properly decide questions of social propriety or conduct, or simply questions of morality, or it may profoundly affect every faculty. In theory, the differences between these various degrees of deficiency are marked and distinct, while in practice the lines of separation are entirely indefinite, and individuals as they grow to adult life may be successively classed in different grades. "Idiocy," generically used, covers the whole range referred to, but is now specifically used to denote only the lowest grades. "Imbecility" has reference to the higher grades. "Feeble-Minded" is a less harsh expression, and satisfactorily covers the whole ground.

We have learned from the researches of modern pathology that in many cases the arrested or perverted development is not merely functional or a delayed infantile condition, but is directly due to the results of actual organic disease, or injury to the brain or nervous system, occurring either before birth or in early infancy.

The work of caring for this class in this country has been greatly aided by the active influence of the Association of Medical Officers of American Institutions for Idiotic and Feeble-minded Persons. This society was organized in 1876, during the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, and held its first meeting at the Pennsylvania Training School at Elwyn. The object of the Association is the consideration and discussion of all questions relating to the manage-

ment, training, and education of idiots and feeble-minded persons. It also lends its influence to the establishment and fostering of institutions for this purpose. The Association meets annually for the reading of papers and the discussion of the various phases of this work.

The material growth and separate history of the older institutions and the numerous public and private schools that have been opened in this country since 1874 are too comprehensive to be considered in detail in this report. The accompanying table shows the name, location, date of organization, and capacity of the various public institutions as existing at the close of 1892:—

Name.	Location.	Date of Organization.	Capacity.
California Home for Care and Training of Feeble-Minded Children, }	Glen Ellen,	1885	259
Connecticut School for Imbeciles, }	Lakeville,	1852	130
Illinois Asylum for Feeble-Minded Children, . .	Lincoln,	1865	536
Indiana School for Feeble-Minded Youth, . .	Fort Wayne, . . .	1879	421
Iowa Institution for Feeble-Minded Children, . .	Glenwood,	1876	456
Kansas State Asylum for Idiotic and Imbecile Youth, }	Winfield,	1881	102
Kentucky Institution for the Education and Training of Feeble-Minded Children, }	Frankfort,	1860	156
Maryland Asylum and Training School for the Feeble-Minded, }	Owing's Mills, . .	1888	40
Massachusetts School for the Feeble-Minded, . .	Waltham,	1848	450
Minnesota School for the Feeble-Minded, . .	Faribault,	1879	332
Nebraska Institution for Feeble-Minded Youth, .	Beatrice,	1887	154
New York State Institution for Feeble-Minded Children, }	Syracuse,	1851	502
New York State Custodial Asylum for Feeble-Minded Women, }	Newark,	1885	345
Randall's Island Hospital and School,	New York Harbor	1870	364
New Jersey Home for the Education and Care of Feeble-Minded Children, }	Vineland,	1888	154
New Jersey State Institution for Feeble-Minded Women, }	Vineland,	1886	65
Ohio Institution for the Education of Feeble-Minded Youth, }	Columbus,	1857	822
Pennsylvania Training School for Feeble-Minded Children, }	Elwyn,	1853	851
Washington School for Defective Youth, . .	Vancouver,	1892	25

At the close of the year 1892 these nineteen public institutions for the feeble-minded had under care and training a total of 6,009

inmates. The buildings and grounds in use for this purpose represent an outlay of more than \$4,000,000. The annual public expenditure for the instruction and maintenance of these defectives now amounts to over \$1,000,000. There are also nine private schools for the feeble-minded in the United States, caring for a total of 216 pupils.

The recognition of the characteristics, limitations, and needs of these various classes, and the results of experience in their training, care, and guardianship, have materially modified and broadened the scope and policy of our American institutions for the feeble-minded. To-day the advantages of these public institutions are not confined to the brighter cases needing school training especially, but have been gradually extended to a greater or less extent in the different States to all the grades and types of idiocy. With all these various classes pleading for admission, it is not strange that many of these institutions have become far more extensive than their founders dreamed of or hoped for. Successive legislatures have been ready to enlarge existing institutions when they would not grant appropriations for establishing new ones. The evil effects feared from congregating a large number of this class have not been realized, or have been minimized by careful classification and separation of the different groups. In fact, we find we must congregate them to get the best results. In order to have companionship, that most necessary thing in the education of all children, we must have large numbers from which to make up our small classes of those who are of an equal degree of intelligence.

The essentially educational character of the earlier institutions has been maintained, but the relations of the different parts of instruction are now better understood. The strictly school exercises, in the early days the most prominent feature, still perform their necessary and proper functions, but now in harmony with and preliminary to the more practical objects of the institution. Education, as applied to the development of these feeble-minded children, is now understood in the broadest sense, not as mere intellectual training, but as uniform cultivation of the whole being, physically, mentally, and morally. The end and aim of all our teaching and training is to make the child helpful to himself and useful to others.

Sir W. Mitchell says, "It is of very little use to be able to read words of two or three letters, but it is of great use to teach an im-

becile to put his clothes on and take them off, to be of cleanly habits, to eat tidily, to control his temper, to avoid hurting others, to act with politeness, to be truthful, to know something of numbers, to go with messages, to tell the hour by the clock, to know something of the value of coins, and a hundred other such things."

As now organized, our American institutions are broadly divided into two departments, the school, or educational, and the custodial. In the school department the children are instructed in the ordinary branches of the common schools. As compared with the education of normal children, it is a difference of degree, and not of kind. The progressive games and occupations of the kindergarten, object teaching, educational gymnastics, manual training, and the other graphic and attractive methods now so successfully applied in the education of normal children, are especially adapted to the training of the feeble-minded. These principles of physiological training of the senses and faculties, of exercising and developing the power of attention, perception, and judgment by teaching the qualities and properties of concrete objects instead of expecting the child to absorb ready-made knowledge from books, of progressively training the eye, the hand, and the ear,—these were the methods formulated by Seguin, and elaborated and applied by Richards, Wilbur, and Howe, years before the era of the kindergarten and the dawn of the new education. It would be difficult to properly estimate the influence of these original and successful methods of instructing the feeble-minded in suggesting and shaping the radical changes that have been made in the methods of modern primary teaching of normal children. With these feeble-minded children the instruction must begin on a lower plane: the progress is slower, and the pupil cannot be carried so far. In a school with several hundred children, a satisfactory gradation of classes can be made if a small proportion of classes showing irregular and unusual deficiencies are assigned to special classes for instruction through individual methods.

Most of the pupils of this grade learn to read and write, to know something of numbers, and acquire a more or less practical knowledge of common affairs. Careful attention is paid to the inculcation of the simple principles of morality, the teaching of correct habits and behavior, and observance of the ordinary amenities of life.

The most prominent feature of our educational training to-day is the attention paid to instruction in industrial occupations and man-

ual labor. In this "education by doing" we not only have a very valuable means of exercising and developing the dormant faculties and defective bodies of our pupils, but at the same time we are training them to become capable and useful men and women. The recent reports of these institutions show in detail the large variety and amount of work done by these children. Carpentering, painting, printing, brick-making, stock-raising, gardening, farming, domestic work, the manufacture of clothing, boots and shoes, brooms, brushes, and other industries, are now successfully and profitably carried on by the pupils in these schools, in connection with the strictly mental training.

Each year a certain number of persons of this class go out from these institutions and lead useful, harmless lives. Some of the institutions where only the brightest class of imbeciles are received, and where the system of industrial training has been very carefully carried out, report that from 20 to 30 per cent of the pupils are discharged as absolutely self-supporting. In other institutions, where the lower-grade cases are received, the percentage of cases so discharged is considerably less. It is safe to say that not over 10 to 15 per cent of our inmates can be made self-supporting in the sense of going out into the community and securing and retaining a situation and prudently spending their earnings. With all our training we cannot give our pupils that indispensable something known as good, plain "common sense." The amount and value of their labor depend upon the amount of oversight and supervision practicable. But it is safe to say that over 50 per cent of the adults of the higher grade who have been under training from childhood are capable, under intelligent supervision, of doing a sufficient amount of work to pay for the actual cost of their support, whether in an institution or at home.

The custodial department includes the lower grades of idiots, the juvenile insane, and the epileptics. Some of these children are as helpless as infants, incapable of standing alone, or of dressing or feeding themselves, or of making their wants known. Other cases are excitable and noisy, with markedly destructive tendencies. The chief indication with these lower-grade cases is to see that their wants are attended to, and to make them comfortable and happy as long as they live. But even with these cases much improvement is possible in the way of teaching them to wait on themselves, to dress

and undress, to feed themselves, in attention to personal cleanliness and habits of order and obedience. As a result of the kindly but firm discipline, the patient habit-teaching, and the well-ordered institution routine, a large proportion of these children become much less troublesome and disgusting, so much so that the burden and expense of their care and support are materially and permanently lessened.

In the custodial department are classed also the moral imbeciles and the adults of both sexes who have graduated from the school department, or are past school age, but cannot safely be trusted, either for their own good or the good of the community, out from under strict and judicious surveillance. For these classes the institution provides a home where they may lead happy, harmless, useful lives.

The daily routine work of a large institution furnishes these trained adults with abundant opportunities for doing simple manual labor, which otherwise would have to be done by paid employees. Outside of an institution it would be impossible to secure the experienced and patient supervision and direction necessary to obtain practical, remunerative results from the comparatively unskilled labor of these feeble-minded people. In the institution the boys assist the baker, carpenter, and engineer. They do much of the shoemaking, the tailoring, and the painting. They drive teams, build roads, and dig ditches. Nearly all of the institutions have large farms and gardens, which supply enormous quantities of milk and vegetables for the consumption of the inmates. This farm and garden work is largely done by the adult male imbeciles. The females do the laundry work, make the clothing and bedding, and do a large share of all the other domestic work of these immense households. Many of these adult females, naturally kind and gentle, have the instinctive feminine love for children, and are of great assistance in caring for the feeble and crippled children in the custodial department. These simple people are much happier and better off in every respect when they know they are doing some useful and necessary work. Some of the restless moral imbeciles could hardly be controlled and managed if their surplus energies were not worked off by a reasonable amount of manual labor.

The average running expenses of these institutions have been gradually and largely reduced by this utilization of the industrial

abilities of the trained inmates. At the Pennsylvania institution the per capita cost for all the inmates has been reduced from \$300 to a little over \$100 per annum, largely from the fact that the work of caring for the low-grade children in the custodial department is done to a very large extent by the inmates themselves. Dr. Doren, of Ohio, after an experience of thirty years in this work, has offered, if the State will give him a thousand acres of land, to guarantee to care for every custodial case in Ohio without expense to the State.

Nearly all of the States making provision for the feeble-minded have practically followed what is known as the colony plan of organization; that is, starting with the school department as a centre, with the various subdivisions of the custodial department subsequently added under the same general management. Thus at the present time in nearly every one of our institutions there will be found custodial departments for each sex, industrial departments, hospitals for the sick, farm colonies, and in a few, buildings especially designed for the care and treatment of epileptics. In his report to the Nineteenth Conference of Charities Dr. G. H. Knight says:—

Legislatures to the contrary notwithstanding, it is not because superintendents covet large buildings, large grounds, and all the care and watchfulness that come from the proper management of what we call a colony, which makes them urge the gathering together of great numbers of this class of defectives, but because they have learned in the hard school of experience that they must have large numbers from which to draw children enough of equal mental endowments to do even the simplest thing well. They have found that, even for money, it is difficult to get suitable people who are willing to come into contact with the lowest grade in the right spirit,—a spirit which demands patience, cheerfulness, and affection. But they do find that what is called “the imbecile” will share his pleasures and attainments with his weaker brother with a sense of high privilege in being allowed to share it; that none make tenderer care-takers nor, under supervision, more watchful ones; and that the bond of fellowship so engendered is of lasting benefit. This is why the colony plan recommends itself to us as superintendents. Experience has taught us that these children, under careful direction, are happier, better cared for, more trustworthy when trust is given, more self-sacrificing and self-contained, and in every way benefited by the training and occupation and amusement which a large institution makes possible, and which it is impossible to gain when there are few in number.

The colony plan divides the institution into comparatively small families, each with peculiar and distinctive needs, and each group under the immediate and personal supervision of experienced and competent officers, who are directly responsible to the medical superintendent. This arrangement retains all the good points of a small institution, and secures the manifest advantages of a large one.

In the additions made to existing institutions and the new institutions built during the past twenty years, the detached or so-called "cottage" plan of construction has been pretty generally adopted, in order to secure the necessary classification and separation of the different classes of these defectives.

The experience of these institutions in these enlargements has been that plain, substantial, detached buildings can be provided for the custodial cases at an expense of not over \$400 per capita. These detached departments are generally supplied with sewerage, water supply, laundry, store-room, and often heating facilities from a central plant, at relatively small expense compared with the cost of installation and operation of a separate plant for each division.

In New York a radical departure was made from this plan by the organization of the Custodial Asylum for Adult Feeble-minded Females at Newark, under a separate management. It was held that in that populous State, with its thousands of feeble-minded persons needing training and care, it would not be desirable or possible to attempt to provide for all classes of the feeble-minded in one institution. A similar special institution for imbecile women has since been organized in New Jersey.

The census of 1890 shows a total of 95,571 idiotic and feeble-minded persons in the United States. It is certain that this enumeration does not include many cases where the parents are unwilling to admit the mental defect of their children. It is safe to say that, taking the country as a whole, there are two feeble-minded persons to every thousand people. Of this vast number only 6,315, or six per cent, are now cared for in these special institutions.

The public appreciation of the educational, custodial, and preventive value of the work is shown by the willingness and liberality with which these institutions are maintained and supported. The remarkable rapidity with which in the Western States the public institutions of this character have been built and filled with pupils within the past two decades is proof positive of the necessity for the

organization of such institutions and of the desire of the parents and friends of this class of defectives to place them under intelligent care and instruction. This special care is now recognized as not only charitable, but economical and conservative. Each hundred dollars invested now saves a thousand in the next generation.

Sixteen States have now opened institutions for the feeble-minded. The State of Michigan, at the last session of the legislature, authorized the establishment of a school for this class. Active efforts have already been made to establish similar institutions in Wisconsin, Colorado, Missouri, Texas, Delaware, Virginia, and Georgia. It is not unreasonable to hope and expect that in the near future an institution for the feeble-minded will be provided in every State in the Union.

**THIRTY YEARS PROGRESS
IN THE CARE
OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED**

Walter E. Fernald

***THIRTY YEARS PROGRESS IN THE CARE OF THE
FEEBLE-MINDED**

BY WALTER E. FERNALD, M. D.,

*Superintendent, Massachusetts School for the Feeble-Minded,
Waverley, Mass.*

I wish to express my profound appreciation of the honor conferred upon me in being chosen as president of the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-Minded.

For forty-eight years the annual meetings of the Association have brought together for conference and discussion those who were most interested in the welfare of the feeble-minded. Its published proceedings constitute a progressive and complete record of the advances made in the scientific knowledge of feeble-mindedness and in the art of caring for feeble-minded persons. A worth-while idea presented at our annual meeting is soon applied all over the country. A superintendent of an institution for the feeble-minded must attend the meetings to keep his state up-to-date. So we confidently expect at each meeting to meet our friends from California to Maine and from Louisiana to Michigan. And when I say "friends" I mean friends in truth, for we can all testify to the atmosphere of genial good-fellowship which has always characterized our sessions. We have an unusual bond of personal friendship as well as the common bond of professional interest. We look forward to the meetings with keen anticipation, and we always go back to our work with renewed inspiration and courage.

This is the second time the Association has honored me as President. The first time was in 1893 and the annual meeting that year was combined with that of the International Conference of Charities at the World's Fair in Chicago. The subject "The History of the

*Address of the President at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-Minded, May 30, 1924.

Treatment of the Feeble-minded" was assigned as the subject of the President's annual address. That address briefly summarized and interpreted the progress of the movement from the time of Seguin to the end of 1892.

It will not be inappropriate at this time to review briefly the progress which has been made in the science and art of caring for the feeble-minded from 1893 to the end of 1923.

In 1893 there were 19 state institutions in 17 different states. In 1924 there are 51 state institutions in 43 different states. Only 5 states have failed to make such provision.

In 1893 there were 6009 patients in these institutions, and in 1923 there were 39,655 patients.

In 1893 there were 9 private institutions, and in 1923 there were eighty-nine.

In 1893 the only feeble-minded persons under care and training in the United States were those in public and private institutions. It was a strictly intra-mural proposition.

In 1896, the first extra-mural provision for the feeble-minded in this country began with the opening of the special class for defective children in the public schools in Providence, R. I. The rapid extension of the special class idea is a matter of history. A recent report from the U. S. Bureau of Education shows that in 1923 there were special classes in the public schools of 171 different cities and towns with a total of 33,971 pupils.

At this point I want to read an impressive extract from a paper of Dr. H. B. Wilbur of the Syracuse Institution, presented at the second annual meeting of the Association in 1877.

"Taking my experience as a guide, I should say that we all have some practical tests that we use consciously or unconsciously in determining the relative degree of idiocy of any case brought to our notice, or when confronted with a new pupil. We have some basis for the decision we make as to the location of the new-comer in our scale of exercises in training and education; some reasons for the opinions we express to the friends of such pupil, of the probable

result of our system of management and training in each individual case. Incidentally, we notice the associated pathological conditions or complications, less from their supposed relation as causes of the idiocy, but as interfering, to a greater or less degree, with our efforts at instruction or training. The manifestations upon which we base our prognosis are more subtle than the accompanying conditions of microcephalus or paralysis, or others that form the basis of any pathological classification.

"Can we not, then, by thought and consultation, give some practical order and distinctness to these data and indications, as a foundation for a tolerably clear and correct prognosis?

"Finally, do we not need some effective form of description of our cases; some generally recognized tests of physical and mental condition that will show, in the first place, the starting-point in the pupil's career, to which reference can be made from time to time to test their absolute or relative progress? Do we not need some mile-posts along in the educational path to the same end? This would be, in one sense, a form of classification, namely, in relation to the growth and development of the pupils.

"Such a classification will not necessarily be an arbitrary one. There can be established, with the experience already accumulated upon the subject, a scheme of the general order of development of the mental faculties even in the case of idiots. Comprehension of language must precede the use of language. Certain sounds will precede others in articulation. Simple sentences will be used before compound sentences. Certain perceptions will lead to others. The will first acquires control over the muscular system, etc.

"With such a scheme before us we should be able not only to define the position of our pupils, mentally, at the very start, but also to keep track of their progress in the intellectual way. Thus could we not only satisfy ourselves, but also record, for the benefit of others, the result of our labors."

But in 1893 as in 1877, practically the only knowledge of the intellectual processes of the feeble-minded was the empirical knowledge of the teachers and officers of the institutions, acquired only

by long experience and observation. In the late nineties, Norsworthy and G. E. Johnson and Kuhlman, began to apply the principles of modern psychological research to the study of the intelligence capacity of the feeble-minded. Dr. Kuhlman was sent to Waverley by Dr. Stanley Hall. Dr. Kuhlman said to me, "I am sure you have good reasons for saying that this boy will eventually be able to do 3rd. grade work and this other boy will never learn to read at all, but you cannot tell me why you think so." And I could not tell him why at that time. The work of these investigators, and later that of Wylie, set the stage for the epoch making research and studies of Goddard at Vineland and his inspired recognition of the vast significance of Binet's theory and technique for the measurement of variations of human intelligence. Goddard made the Binet tests practical, applied them to thousands of normal and defective children and so interpreted the results that the world will forever be his debtor.

The theory and practice of mental testing and the discovery of the *concept of mental age* did more to explain feeble-mindedness, to simplify its diagnosis and to furnish accurate data for training and education, than all the previous study and research from the time of Seguin.

It was but a step for us to realize that for the average feeble-minded child each mental age level from 5 to 10 has its correlative school grade level, so if we know the mental age of a child we know the grade of school work which he is now probably capable of being taught, and that his scholastic progress is closely limited to his mental age level possibility. This principle applies to children under 14 years of age. Less than 10% fail to reach this result and they are usually syphilitic, endocrine, etc.

Think of the tragedy of the fruitless efforts of the devoted teachers in our institutions who for nearly forty years tried to teach 1st grade work to a defective child with a 3 or 4 year mind.

The practical value of this mental age-school grade correlation principle in the education of the feeble-minded cannot be overstated.

The concept of the Intelligence Quotient was another brilliant discovery which enabled us to predict accurately the adult mental age and adult scholastic level of a given feeble-minded child. For instance, we know that if he has an Intelligence Quotient of less than 40 he never can be taught 1st. grade work, and that when he reaches adult life his mental age will not be above the 5 year level; or, if he has an Intelligence Quotient of 60 he probably will achieve the 3rd grade and have an adult mental age of about 9, etc., etc. (At this time we are not discussing the probable significance of the Intelligent Quotient of the normal child).

Thus the work of the laboratory, and the concepts of *mental age* and the *Intelligence Quotient* gave us standardized methods of measuring the intelligence of the defective and standardized coefficients for stating that capacity, in place of the old time empirical opinions. This dramatic fulfillment of the prophecy and hope of Dr. Wilbur enormously simplified the whole problem of the feeble-minded. Not the least of its benefits was its revelation that we could not, as we had previously hoped and believed, increase the intelligence of a defective person, and that the educational possibilities of any defective was definitely conditioned by his measurable intelligence. The immediate popular understanding and acceptance of the principle of intelligence testing enormously increased the interest of the public in the feeble-minded.

In fact, we were so impressed by the laboratory measurements of the intelligence factor in mental defect that other and equally conditioning factors were long overshadowed and ignored. Even today we are prone to attempt to devise arbitrary tests for the clinical evaluation of signs and symptoms which can only be interpreted in relation to other facts, perhaps in other fields.

The eugenic and dysgenic research and study of Goddard and Davenport marked another great advance in our knowledge of feeble-mindedness. These investigations more than verified the impressions of previous observers that feeble-mindedness was often a highly hereditary condition. The black charts of the Kallikaks, the Nam Family and the Hill Folk, etc., were most sinister in their significance as showing that certain types of defect were

transmitted in accordance with certain definite genetic laws, and that a majority of the defectives studied were of this hereditary class. The result of this dysgenic research also made a profound and widespread impression on public sentiment.

The family tree method of eugenic research incidentally revealed a large number of law-breakers and criminals among the feeble-minded and their kinfolk. Within a few years many inmates of reformatories and prisons were given a mental examination and a surprisingly large percentage of the prisoners studied were found to be feeble-minded, often of the hereditary class. In some juvenile reformatories a majority of the inmates were feeble-minded. Many prostitutes under arrest and in prison were found to be feeble-minded. At this time no paper on mental defect failed to emphasize strongly the criminal and antisocial tendencies of the feeble-minded with little reference to the non-criminal defectives. In some states the courts began to send feeble-minded criminals to the schools for feeble-minded instead of to a reformatory.

This early intensive study of the feeble-minded and his family and environment and habits and morals gradually assembled some very depressing information. A composite portrait of a mythical person, embodying all the bad qualities of many defectives, appeared as the hero of what I like to call the "*Legend of the Feeble-minded*". This legend conveyed the impression that the feeble-minded were almost all of the highly hereditary class; they were almost invariably immoral, most of the women bore illegitimate children; nearly all were antisocial, vicious and criminal; they were all idle and shiftless and seldom supported themselves; they were highly dangerous people roaming up and down the earth seeking whom they might destroy.

The feeble-minded person became an object of horror and aversion. He was looked upon as an Ishmaelite, a useless, dangerous person, who should be ostracized, sterilized and segregated for his natural life at public expense.

For nearly two decades the defective was thought of harshly and almost punitively. Laws were often proposed and a few were enacted relating to these "criminals who had not yet com-

mitted a crime" which were more drastic than those dealing with convicted criminals, on the mere theory that they were more likely to commit crimes than other persons were. At least one state has a law that a committed defective cannot be released from custody except by order of the court which committed him.

For nearly two decades all our knowledge of the feeble-minded indicated that the obvious and logical remedy was lifelong segregation and this became the policy in nearly every state.

The "legend of the feeble-minded" was based on a study of the only known large groups of defectives of that period and they were those who *had* got into trouble and *were* in institutions, who *were* largely of the hereditary class and *had* behaved badly and *were* shiftless and lazy. As a group they were the neglected and untrained and uncared for defectives. It was entirely logical to assume that all defectives had similar history and tendencies. The legend ignored the defectives from good homes with no troublesome traits of character and behavior. It would be equally logical to describe an iceberg without reference to the 87% of bulk invisible below the surface of the sea.

But much water has run over the dam since that period of pessimism, say 1911 or 1912.

Since that time many things have happened to make us believe that we have been far too sweeping in some of our generalizations and deductions concerning the feeble-minded. Entirely new cross sections of feeble-mindedness have been revealed by the study of thousands of unselected mental defectives in special school classes, school clinics, in private practice, in school and community surveys, and in the army tests. The after-care studies of discharged inmates of institutions and of graduates of special classes have taught us much about adult feeble-mindedness.

Of our new knowledge perhaps the most striking fact is the vast number of theoretical defectives revealed by the general use of modern methods of diagnosis in public schools and mental clinics. From 1 to 3% of elementary school children have less than 70% of average intelligence and are presumably feeble-mind-

ed. This result has been remarkably consistent in many cities and rural communities. We must multiply our former estimates of the number by ten at least. In other words there are thousands of defectives where we believed there were hundreds. It is obvious that no state could afford to build institutions for this vast number.

We must not forget that Goddard not only named the moron but he discovered him, for in the pre-Binet days the 9 and 10 and 11 mental age defective, with an Intelligence Quotient of 60, 65 and 70, was seldom recognized as being feeble-minded. The apparent increase in numbers is largely due to the inclusion of these newly discovered morons.

No one questions the accuracy of the *black* charts of the "hovel" type of hereditary defectives, or their significance, but no extensive studies have been made of the hereditary of unselected defectives as they appear in school and out-patient mental clinics. Many of these children seem to come from average American homes, from the homes of the poor and of the middle class, and of the well-to-do, with industrious, well behaved parents. The clinical history of many of these pupils suggests that infective, inflammatory or other destructive brain disease in infancy was the cause of the mental defect. Other types of defect are probably non-hereditary—the Mongolian, the Cretin, the Syphilitic, the Traumatic, etc.

It is possible, if not probable, that these unselected or "run-of-the-mine" defectives in our newer cross sections would show a smaller ratio of the germ plasm type of defect than do the institutional cases. We much need a study of the heredity of a large number of normal children as a control for the interpretation of the heredity of the defective. We know much about the heredity of the "hovel" or prepotent type, but much less of the less potent strains of hereditary defect. The assumption that practically all feeble-mindedness is highly hereditary is most disconcerting to normal brothers and sisters of a feeble-minded child.

The conduct and behavior of the children seen in these new cross sections of unselected feeble-mindedness is surprisingly good. More than 5000 defectives from 9 to 16 years of age studied in

school clinics within three years have included less than 8% with an indication of antisocial or troublesome behavior.

A small percentage seem innately resentful of authority and vicious from early childhood and probably will remain so until adult life. The time of puberty is a crucial period for the defective. Much seems to depend upon their special inheritance and upon the environment determined by their social heredity. Defective children from good homes seem to behave well as a rule.

After-care studies of many defectives discharged from the institutions, who have no innately vicious character defects and who have been given habits of obedience, and protected from evil companions and taught to work during the formative period of their lives, usually behave well *if they are given continuing, friendly supervision*. Even some of those who were troublesome at early adolescence do "settle down" in a remarkable way. Much of their bad behavior in the institution probably was the institutional expression of the instinctive craving for liberty and individual expression which every adolescent exhibits.

The problem of the adolescent and young adult defective in the community is one of adjustment and is often easily solved by adequate social service. For instance, all of the defective applicants waiting for admission to the Massachusetts State Schools for Defectives are automatically visited by the social workers of the Department of Mental Diseases. They find that many of these applicants have already comfortably adjusted themselves and their friends no longer desire admission to the institution. A large number are quickly assisted to a safe adjustment by the knowledge and skill of the social worker. Those who cannot be adjusted satisfactorily at home are the ones who need the institution. Over 75% of the defectives diagnosed in the out-patient clinic are assisted to make a comfortable and unobjectionable adaptation to home and community life.

Modern psychiatry has made notable contributions to our understanding of the defective, especially in the study of innate

emotional and personality and character traits and tendencies as related to conduct and behavior. Some defectives are naturally docile, anxious to please, ambitious, generous and friendly, etc., while others are naturally paranoid, cruel, selfish and indifferent to praise, etc. These innate traits as observed in childhood and at puberty are prophetic of his adult behavior. And the behavior and conduct of a defective is quite as important as his intelligence quotient. Fortunately we can modify personality to a degree during the formative period even if we are not able to increase intelligence.

Our newer knowledge on unselected defectives verifies our belief that there are good defectives and bad defectives but seems to show that the good vastly outnumber the bad.

The after-care studies of the defective graduates of institutions and special classes also show that the trained moron of suitable age who knows how to obey and to work has little difficulty in getting and keeping a job at good wages. Every large industry includes among its help a good sprinkling of men with a low Intelligence Quotient who have the right personality and character traits. Much of the rough and disagreeable work of the world has always been done by the people of humble intelligence.

The problem of the moron is largely economic. The idle defective has no money, feels inferior and does his worst. The defective who works all day at good wages seldom makes trouble. The industrially trained defective can always get work. The restriction of immigration has removed a great handicap of the feeble-minded in America, to a scientific interpretation of data obtained from these fields as a task requiring broad psychiatric science and experience.

Dr. Wilbur, in 1877, in the paper referred to, said, "Incidentally, we notice associated pathological conditions or complications less from their supposed relation as causes of the idiocy, but as interfering, to a greater or less degree, with our efforts at instruction and training." Not only Wilbur, himself, but Seguin, Howe, Tarbell, Wylie, Kerlin, Barr, and many others have exhaustively catalogued

and described the physical anomalies so often found in mental defect.

The classical "*stigmata of degeneration*" are found much more frequently in mental defect than in any other condition. These anthropometrical variations of relative height, weight, size and proportions of head, condition of teeth, palate, hair, sex organs, general appearance, muscular co-ordination, etc., from the time of Seguin have, as Wilbur said, been regarded as of vast significance in *diagnosis* and *prognosis*. And today the result of the physical examination of a suspected case of mental defect, especially of the higher grades, is as important and significant to the psychiatrist as is the mental test. No intelligent diagnosis or prognosis can be made without such an examination and its interpretation.

The physical examination may throw much light upon the etiology of a given case. For instance, the so-called "*stigmata of degeneration*" are really anomalies of growth and development and such variations are now regarded as evidence of abnormal functioning of the endocrine or ductless gland system. These evidences of endocrine disturbance are very frequently seen in cases of mental defect. The abnormal structure and function of the ductless glands may be the primary cause of the mental defect, it may accompany it, or they may have a common underlying cause. It seems significant that the individuals of certain strains of the "hovel" type of hereditary defect nearly all show many endocrine stigmata. And we have long known that the definitely accidental cases do not, as a rule, show such anomalies. Is it not possible that the determiner for normal cerebral development is a definitely endocrine one and that certain types of hereditary mental defect are really caused by the inheritance of certain inferior ductless glands, or by the faulty functioning of the endocrine glands of the parents, and that the inferior intelligence of the child its a secondary result.

The present era of research and study in the field of endocrinology may lead to results of great value in the causation, diagnosis, treatment and prevention of mental defect.

The greatest gap in our knowledge of mental defect is in the field of pathology. We know much of the pathology of gross idiocy but

the pathological anatomy and histology of the moron is an unwritten chapter. The brilliant work of Hammarberg in 1890 has not been repeated. We have little knowledge of the abnormal brain conditions which are the probable physical expression of the faulty germ plasm in hereditary defect, or of abnormal endocrine states. Such knowledge may be of enormous importance in prevention. It may be that such knowledge may not be discernable by the scalpel or the microscope but may be found in the field of bio-chemistry.

It is an interesting fact that modern obstetrics apparently has already diminished the number of cases of focal brain damage with resulting paralysis and mental defect.

No accurate diagnosis or prognosis or classification of mental defect can be made without a thorough clinical and personal history. The vitality of the child birth, the obstetric history, the age at which he teethed and talked and walked, the age at which the symptoms of retardation appeared—soon after birth,—progressively, or suddenly, perhaps during or after an acute illness or a blow or a fall or a convulsion. These and many other episodes in the clinical history are of great significance.

To know the defective child and his possibilities he must be studied from many angles—that of his body, his family and environment, his clinical history, his education, his economic possibilities, his personality as shown by his social reactions and behavior, his character as shown by his moral inhibitions or lack of them, and by his intelligence.

These few illustrations show how the knowledge of feeble-mindedness is gradually increasing as the result of scientific study and observation in many fields—medical, psychiatric, psychological, educational, sociological, economic, industrial, moral, legal, eugenic, etc.

We now know that feeble-mindedness is not an entity, to be dealt with in a routine way, but is an infinitely complex problem. The feeble-minded may be male or female, young or old, idiots, imbeciles or morons; from good homes or bad homes; bad defectives or good defectives; well behaved or vicious; industrious or idle, they

may live in the city or in the country; in a good neighborhood or a bad one; they may come from family stock highly hereditary as to feeble-mindedness, from one slightly so, or from good stock. No two defectives are exactly alike. What is good for one may be bad for another. An individual defective may be expressed or described only by an equation—his intelligence, plus his body, plus his family, plus his training, plus his personality traits, plus his morals, etc. No routine procedure will meet the needs of this highly differentiated group.

We are beginning to realize the vastness of the problem of the feeble-minded. We now know that all of the feeble-minded cannot be permanently segregated in institutions. We believe that the vast majority will never need such provision but will adjust themselves at home as they have always done in the past. They will be recognized during their school life by school and travelling clinics and given better training in special classes or in the regular classes. Much of the present scholastic training will be supplanted by industrial training. The schools are providing special social supervision and will do so much more in the future. The bad defectives and neglected ones will be sent to the institutions before they come to grief. After the school age the state will provide extra mural supervision for all neglected or bad behaved defectives. The price of liberty will be good behavior. Those who can live at home safely and usefully will be allowed to do so. Well behaved institution inmates will be released on permanent supervised parole.

Perhaps the majority of defective females who once need the institution can never be safely paroled. It will be a highly selective process.

The institution will be the pivot of a well balanced state program for the care of the feeble-minded. Any such program will be often modified and changed in the light of new knowledge and new experience. It will be many years before it is a static problem. What we knew before and what we know now is more or less true but it is only a *part* of the truth. What we most need is more knowledge in many fields.

It is possible that in the past we have a bit *overstressed* the protection of the public welfare and *understressed* the obligation of society to its less endowed members, to their great disadvantage.

The ultimate responsibility for the care and training of the feeble-minded must be decentralized. If cared for at all the majority of the vast number of the feeble-minded must be protected and helped by individuals and organizations in the local community under highly special direction. It is now and always will be largely an extra-mural problem.

As yet no village or township or city in any state has undertaken to assume any responsibility for the comfort and welfare of all its feeble-minded citizens, or to attempt in a systematic way to prevent the anti-social conduct and behavior which has given this group its bad name. Yet many surveys made by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and other organizations of towns and cities, have shown that it is easily possible to make a census of all the feeble-minded in a town, with a practical record of their mental and physical condition, home life, habits, morals, behavior, etc., a description quite sufficient as a basis for intelligent care and supervision of every individual in the group.

The optimistic trend of this paper is a natural reaction from the period of pessimism through which we have passed.

Now that we are glimpsing the hitherto invisible seven-eighths of the iceberg it seems less gloomy and terrifying and even has certain graceful outlines.

The titles of the papers on the program of this meeting vividly illustrate the advances made in our work since 1893. This advanced position is largely due to the contributions to our knowledge made by the members of this organization. This richly varied program is very suggestive of the probability of still more future research and study which will yield further results of enormous value in the diagnosis and classification and control and causation and prevention of feeble-mindedness. All the omens are favorable for predicting a long, useful and glorious future for our beloved Association.

CARE OF THE FEEBLEMINDED

Harry C. Storrs

CARE OF THE FEEBLEMINDED

HARRY C. STORRS, M.D.

RECOGNITION of the responsibility of the community or state for the care and training of the mentally deficient has developed almost completely during the past one hundred years. This year, Letchworth Village is observing the fortieth anniversary of its establishment as a state institution for the mentally deficient; this year also commemorates the 100th anniversary of the founding of the first such school in this country.

It can be assumed that from the time the human race came into existence the minds of certain individuals did not develop normally. Very sporadic references to those who from the description were undoubtedly mentally defective can be found in the very earliest records. They are simply mentioned in the writings of the ancient Greek physicians. With few exceptions little mention is made of the condition until the eighteenth century, when several of the physicians in European universities discussed mental deficiency in their lectures.

This can be said to be the real beginning of interest in the study of the mental defective, but it was not until nearly another century had passed that the general public became sufficiently interested to make provisions for special care for these unfortunate members of the community.

The first schools were founded not for the purpose of institutional care as we know it today, but with the hope that by intensive training these children could be taught and become self supporting. The accomplishments in teaching children with special sense defects, the deaf, dumb and blind, which was receiving much attention at this period, undoubtedly raised the hope that by the application of somewhat similar methods equal improvement could be attained in cases of idiocy.

It is unquestionably true that in the beginning only the idiot and lower level of imbeciles were recognized as mental defectives. The methods of approach through the special senses which had proved successful with the deaf, dumb and blind were studied and applied with modifications in attempts at teaching the mentally defective. Though a few attempts at teaching had been made, both in this

country and abroad, it is to Dr. E. Seguin of Paris that the credit must be given for really initiating the education and training of the mentally defective.

In 1846 Dr. Seguin published his "Treatise on Idiocy," which is today a classic on training. Concerning this book, the late Dr. Walter E. Fernald stated, "This physiological education of defective brains as a result of systematic training of the special senses, the functions and muscular system, was looked upon as a visionary theory, but has been verified and confirmed by modern experiments and researches in physiological psychology."

Dr. Seguin's school and its methods attracted the attention of the entire civilized world and similar schools were organized in many countries. In 1848 he came to this country and was associated with Dr. S. G. Howe and Dr. H. B. Wilbur, and assisted them in the organization of schools in Massachusetts and New York, the first state schools in America. Rather slowly other states opened schools. In 1874 there were only seven states with such institutions and in 1892 there were only 19 public institutions for the mentally defective caring for a total of 6,009 patients. Today there are schools in nearly every state, some states having more than one, with a total patient population of 94,691 and 4,896 more in private institutions.

The first schools were all organized on an educational basis. Admissions were for the most part younger children of school age who because of low mental development could not profit by regular school instruction. When these children passed compulsory school age the parents were reluctant to take them back to their homes. Many were retained in the schools for this reason. This was the beginning of permanent custodial care of the mentally deficient in an institution developed for the care of this particular type of child.

At that time practically all mentally defectives were cared for at home, creating an almost insurmountable burden on many families. Some having no one to care for them, were placed in almshouses and state hospitals for the insane. Those who were bright enough to mingle with the general population often came into conflict with the law and were sentenced to terms in jails or prisons. It was the appalling conditions of care and treatment to which these irresponsible mental defectives were subjected that stimulated the creation of special institutions where they could be taught, trained and live protected and, in many instances, lead fairly useful lives.

With the establishment of state schools and institutions for the mentally defective, children beyond school age were received, also adults who needed custodial care, supervision and protection. More children of slightly higher mental grades were diagnosed as mentally defective and committed to state schools. Many of these children were physically normal and often physically quite attractive. Their deviation from normal was perhaps first noticed when they began to fail in academic school work, missing regular promotions. This many times subjected the child to ridicule by classmates and started the development of feelings of frustration and inferiority, leading to compensatory reactions of antisocial behavior, truancy and delinquency.

The development and introduction of new methods of psychological examinations was one of the most important advances in the diagnosis and understanding of that large group of mental defectives now recognized as of higher moron and borderline intelligence. Previously, these children were seldom thought of as being feeble-minded. Their inability to advance normally in academic classes and to acquire acceptable patterns of social adjustment were completely misunderstood.

The results of studies and examinations by Binet and Simon in France were brought to this country in 1910 by Dr. Henry H. Goddard of the Vineland Training School. The information obtained by these examinations was recorded as mental age; that is, a child was said to have a mental development equivalent to that of a normal or average child of a certain age. The degree of defect or retardation was determined by the difference between the mental age attained and the present chronological age.

This method of examination stimulated many psychologists to develop more tests and systems of determining and scoring mental abilities and disabilities. A more accurate scoring was studied by Kuhlman and developed by Terman, resulting in the introduction of the scoring by intelligence quotient, roughly, the percentage of mental ability of an individual compared with the normal or average. The almost universal acceptance of these psychometric examinations and the scores obtained as a quick and accurate means of making a positive diagnosis of mental deficiency soon became rather questionable. While the scores obtained were extremely valuable and indicated more accurately than any method hitherto devised the mental capacity of an individual, it was quite evident that other examina-

tions and investigations should be made and the results considered before a positive diagnosis was determined. Data developed from the examinations by psychometric tests of large groups of children and adults placed a surprisingly large number of individuals in the category of the mentally deficient. It was estimated that possibly 2 to 4 per cent of the general population could be classified as mentally deficient.

At approximately the same time that psychometric tests came into general use, studies were being made of several families or groups in which there seemed to be direct transmission of mental defect from one generation to the next. Published histories of such families as the Jukes, Kallikaks, Pineys, Nams, and the like, produced almost positive evidence of heredity in the etiology of mental defect. The public naturally became interested and, believing that heredity was the main factor in the etiology of mental deficiency, the solution of the problem was thought to be segregation in institutions of all feeble-minded, at least during the child-bearing age. It was also believed at this time that all mental defectives were potential criminals.

The general use of psychometric tests showing the large numbers of defectives in the general population demonstrated the impossibility of the policy of segregation. It became very evident that responsibility for the care and training of the mentally defective must be shared by the family, the community through its schools and social agencies, and by the public institutions.

Unquestionably the most adequate facilities for the care, training and development of any child are found in the child's own home. Here the child receives the parental love and attention so necessary in the formative years in laying the foundations of good mental health. It is unfortunate that some homes do not always furnish a healthy mental environment for either normal or mentally deficient children. The possibilities for home care vary widely, both in the existing physical factors and in the emotional stability of the parents and siblings of the child. On farms and in rural areas the problem of home care may be entirely different from that which prevails in an urban center among families living in a few rooms in a large apartment house. If the family is so constituted that the child can be cared for at home without undue mental and physical strain on the members of the family group, as much can be accomplished in general training at home as can be derived from placement in private

or public institutions. This is particularly true today with the establishment of ungraded classes in most schools, which classes are organized to meet the particular needs of the mentally defective child.

Life in the country affords the child many opportunities for freedom of play under perhaps very slight restrictions. The life of the family is such that the child can at an early age take part in many of the simpler tasks of living and feel that he is an important member of the group. He is protected from the ridicule and teasing which is naturally present in the larger communities. Unless of too limited intelligence, the child is usually accepted in the rural schools and though he may not progress beyond the first grade, his morale is improved and he absorbs some material from higher grades by listening to the recitations of other classes. Provided that there is no personality defect or asocial problem, the country child becomes a fairly useful member of the community performing the simpler manual tasks.

In the cities and larger towns the problem of home care may be solved with little difficulty, but in many instances it becomes an utter impossibility. In small apartments the care of a child of low mentality is extremely difficult, for the immediate family and the child may disturb those in neighboring apartments. Under such conditions the mental health of the whole family is threatened and institutional placement becomes in most cases a necessity.

The great majority of mentally defective children of the high imbecile or moron levels of intelligence make a fairly satisfactory adjustment in their own homes. This very desirable trend is being accomplished as the limitations of the child are becoming better understood by the parents and the needs of the child are provided by the community.

One of the greatest aids for these children has been the development of the ungraded classes in the public schools. The first such class was organized in Providence, Rhode Island in 1896, and the movement expanded rapidly. Today practically every city and many towns have their special or ungraded classes. In the better organized systems the objective of instruction is based on the practical needs of the child and the requirements and opportunities for employment of the mentally retarded in the particular community. With such an objective in mind, the purpose of school attendance becomes realistic to the child and undoubtedly brings about a satis-

factory social adjustment at an age when, if definite interests are not developed, children very easily drift into delinquency and require placement in institutions. While the proportion of admissions of the younger trainable defectives of the higher mental levels is decreasing in many states, this may quite possibly be a direct result of the favorable programs of training offered in the ungraded classes.

The state schools or institutions receive all types of the mentally defective of all ages and degrees of mental retardation. The problem of institutional care naturally varies with the age of the child and the degree of mental development. For the very young and those of very low mentality, the provision of good custodial care, including some forms of amusement, with simple training objectives is all that can be attained. Those with slightly higher mentality, the imbecile groups, will in all probability also require lifetime custodial care and can be made very happy in an institution, becoming through training fairly efficient helpers at simple tasks.

The children of the moron or borderline level will remain in an institution for a period of education and training, the length of institutional stay depending as much or more on the personality and emotional reactions of the child rather than the degree of defect. The aim of the institution should be to do everything possible to train reasonably good citizens.

Those of lower mentality are received after the family has found that they are unable longer to cope with the problem of the care of such a child. For these children very little can be accomplished other than improvement by training in the establishment of habits of personal cleanliness and teaching them the simplest elements of self-help, such as feeding and dressing themselves. They will require custodial care for their entire life span. Families once relieved of the burden of the care of such a child almost never attempt to resume home care even if the child has improved somewhat by training. The number of children of this type increases steadily in every state school. It has been stated that the length of life of a defective child is directly proportional to the degree of mental defectiveness. This was undoubtedly true and probably is still a fairly accurate statement. It is, however, not as obvious as in previous years. Modern methods of hygiene, sanitation, control of epidemics and treatment of disease is markedly lengthening the lives of those of very low mentality.

Another reason for the increase in requests for the admission of the child of very low mentality is quite evidently an increased confidence in the adequacy of care given in the state institutions. Occasionally a family feels even if they could care for the child at home that it is the responsibility of the state to relieve them of their burden.

The children of higher mentality received at state schools are those who have failed to adjust in the community. They may be simply children who were misunderstood at home and in school and who reacted to taunting at their inability to make normal progress. This reaction to their inferiority may have manifested itself in asocial behavior or even antisocial to the extent of serious delinquency. That many of these children entering an institution with histories of incorrigibility and delinquency immediately adjust would seem to indicate that the child was reacting to environmental influences.

The program of training for these children should include, as far as possible, everything necessary in the life and training of a child in the home, with the objective of returning the child to the community. In the cottages the life of the child may be quite different from that of one family. Still with games, music and other forms of amusement, cottage life can be made fairly homelike. Playgrounds near the cottage are an absolute necessity and should be fully utilized whenever the weather permits. Ample opportunities for out-of-door play not only afford a vast amount of pleasure for the children, but are body-building and improve their general health. They are also important factors in aiding adjustment.

Schools should be provided for all children of school age who are mentally able to profit by academic instruction, and every child should have the opportunity of learning the subjects within his mental ability.

The academic subjects should follow the regular syllabus, but varied and made practical to meet the future needs of the retarded individual. As constant application to academic work is tiring to mentally defective children, other forms of instruction must be provided. Music and gymnasium classes are very beneficial and are very much enjoyed. There should also be provided a well organized department of hand-training and occupational therapy. The happiness, pride and satisfaction in creating a finished article is very often a marked factor in bringing about the adjustment of a difficult child.

The higher type mentally who are beyond school age on admission

have failed in normal community adjustment and have often become delinquent. Their antisocial conduct rather than their mental defect has been the cause of their institutional placement. Because of their mental defect they are certified to state schools rather than to correctional institutions. For this group a schedule of training must be organized, combining instruction in all manner of practical occupations and the development of a sense of pleasure in regular habits of work and wholesome forms of diversion and recreation. The personalities of these children, many of whom are experiencing a prolonged adolescent period, have been warped by their past experiences and failures in community life. Some have unfortunately developed set patterns of delinquency, but most of them when placed with children of their own mental level respond favorably to the training program. Their everyday life is in no way different from that of their fellows and, where all are doing the same thing at work or play, reactions to inferiorities rapidly disappear. This group will be in an institution only for a period of training varying in length more on their abilities and personality than on their degree of mental development.

During the time of institutional residence the life of the children should be made as pleasant as possible, with particular emphasis on entertainment and recreation. This must naturally be group entertainment, avoiding any partiality—which is as quickly sensed by the mentally defective as by normal children. The training program is entered into with far greater enthusiasm when the children are looking forward to approaching entertainments and recreation.

In contrast to those of lower mentality for whom the institution will serve as a home for the remainder of their lives, almost all of the higher mental level will return to the community. It is hoped that these children will have been helped over a difficult period in their lives; that they will have overcome their previous asocial tendencies, and by the establishment of habits of industry and obedience will be able satisfactorily to adjust to community life.

The majority of the children will return to their own families to be helpful at the simpler tasks in the house and in industry. Some may require placement and training in a colony before going home. For those who have no homes, positions should be found where the child can be placed working under the supervision of the institution while on convalescent status. An active social service department

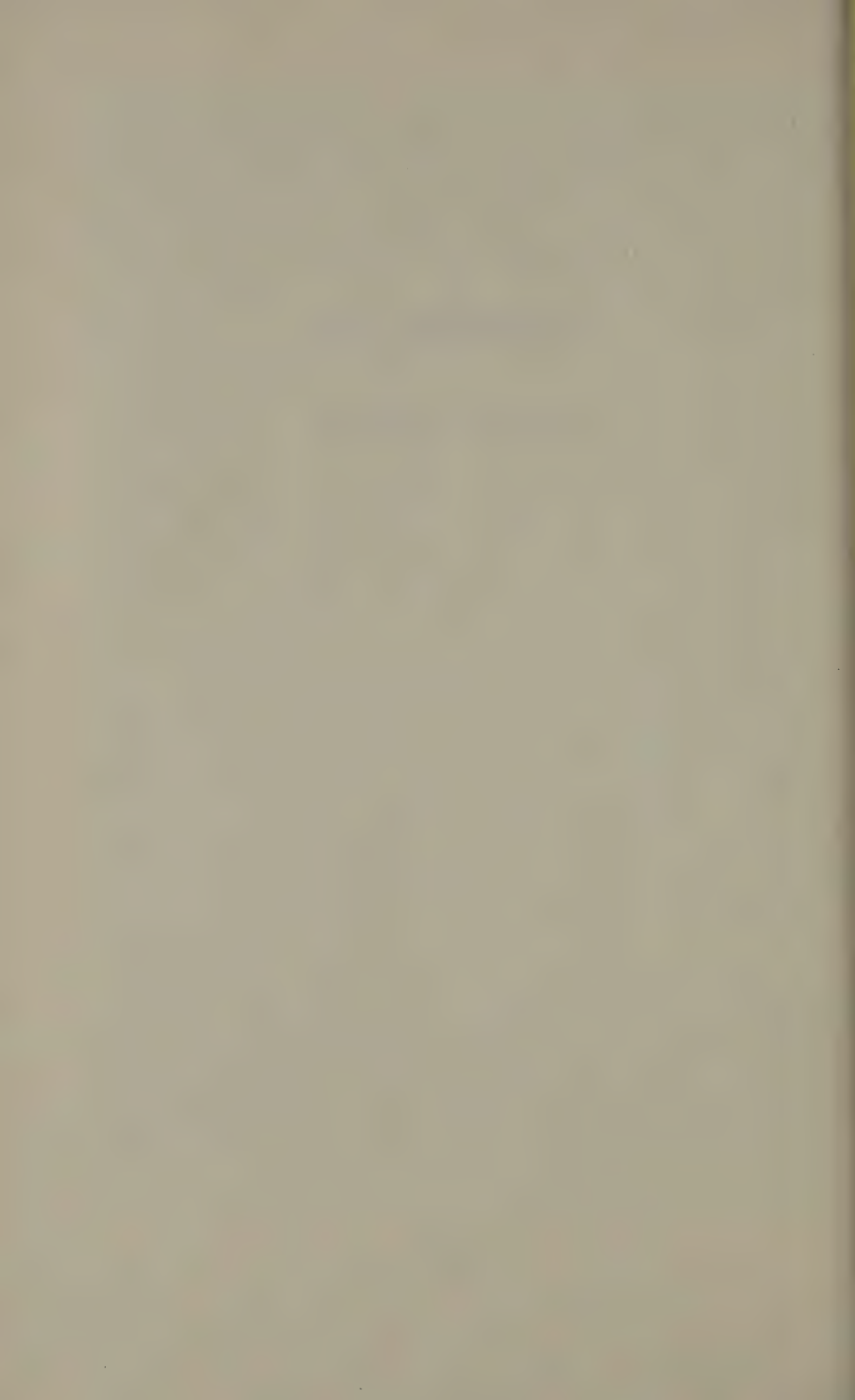
should be available in every institution to aid the children during their change from institution life to that of living in the outside world. Social workers are invaluable as counselors and guides during the period before final discharge. It is regrettable that there are not enough social workers to continue this very valuable guidance after the child has been discharged from institutional supervision. Recently many older patients and some younger ones have been placed in family care where they are very happy living as a member of the family with a social worker calling regularly to insure that everything possible is being done for them.

In the care of the mental defective the establishment of departments of research cannot be too strongly advocated. It is only by painstaking and patient endeavor over periods of years that the problems underlying the etiology of mental deficiency can be solved. Progress is being made and quite recently the etiology of mental defect in certain groups of children has been demonstrated as due to phenylpyruvic oligophrenia, incompatibilities of the Rh factors, and to toxoplasmosis. Studies are being made on the effects of the administration of glutamic acid, which whether successful or not, may lead to further understanding of the problems of deficiencies of metabolism possibly causing mental deficiency. The tremendous progress made in the past half century in the control of physical disease was accomplished by the development of interest in the study of preventive medicine. By removing the cause of a particular disease, its control and virtual elimination was fairly easily accomplished. While it may be impossible completely to prevent the occurrence of mental deficiency in the future population, it is certainly very possible that by a better understanding of the etiology of this condition many children will be born with normal minds who otherwise would have been mentally defective.

The care and training of the mentally retarded in the home, the community, the schools and the institutions is slowly but steadily improving. Social, psychological, educational and vocational studies of mental deficiency together with medical and biological research investigations concerning the etiology of the condition will most certainly lead to vast improvements in care and training in future years.

THEN AND NOW

Henry H. Goddard



LIFE AT
LETCHWORTH VILLAGE

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THE FORTIETH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE BOARD OF VISITORS FOR
THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED
MARCH 31, 1948



STATE OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL HYGIENE

THEN AND NOW

HENRY H. GODDARD, PH.D.

FORTY years! It is quickly fled. To those who have lived through two such periods, it seems a long way back to the beginning; but forty years ago is little more than a "yesterday." Yet these short years have seen miracles. Among other things, the feeble-minded have been "discovered." In all the fifty thousand years—or fifty million if you prefer—since man came down from the trees where he was educated in the higher branches, those of defective mentality were never discovered until the time of your grandfathers and mine! Even then it was not their defect of mind that attracted attention. It was their highly disfiguring goitres. They were the Cretins—a word that meant christian (French Chretien) and applied to these unfortunates, in an effort to speak kindly of them.

It is reported that about the year 1625 St. Vincent de Paul called attention to these peculiar people, whom he saw in the Bicêtre—the great hospital in Paris. Felix Platten of Basle, Switzerland, also noticed them; but there is no record of anything being done for them. They were found to be mentally defective and were often called idiots. This has given rise to much confusion. Even the Oxford dictionary defines "cretin" as a "deformed idiot of a kind found especially in the Alpine valleys."

In 1792 a "wild boy" was found by some hunters in the woods near Paris. He was turned over to the philosopher Itard who tried to educate him. Although he had considerable success, he finally gave up because he came to the conclusion that the boy was feeble-minded.

Itard's work had been watched by Edward Seguin who was so impressed that he later opened a school for defectives in Paris, in 1837. That seems to be the first attempt to train mental defectives in a group.

Seguin migrated to America in 1848. There were then two schools for defectives. One in Barre, Massachusetts, a private institution, and the Perkins School for the Blind where Dr. Howe had discovered some defectives among his blind pupils. Seguin devoted the rest of his life to agitating for more care of the feeble-minded, with the result that schools were started at Syracuse in 1851, Elwyn, Penn-

sylvania, in 1852, Columbus, Ohio, in 1857 and Lakeville, Connecticut, in 1858.

Eighteen years later there were enough schools so that they formed "The Association of Medical Officers of American Institutions of Idiots and Feeble Minded." That was in 1876. In 1894 they changed the name to "American Association for the Study of the Feeble Minded." That was done so that they could receive into membership some superintendents who were not "Medical Officers." In 1883 the name was again changed to "American Association on Mental Deficiency."

It must be remembered that in these early days the emphasis was on care, in the sense of getting them off the streets and out of their miserable homes. Little was known about training or teaching them. Each superintendent was a law unto himself, and could run his institution as he saw fit. Their meetings were enlivened by many reports of what various ones were trying to do. The general attitude of the public was often reflected in the names of the institutions. The insane hospitals were generally called "asylums." The name was taken over by the builders of the new institutions and we had Asylum for Idiots at Syracuse and at Orillia, Canada: Custodial Asylum at Newark, New York and Rome. Asylum for Feeble Minded, Lincoln Illinois, School for Imbeciles, Lakeville.

Gradually, names changed to "schools" or "training schools" and more recently to "state school." Idiot, and imbecile were softened to feeble-minded and finally omitted entirely from the name.

More and more there is an effort to get away from a terminology that savors of unpleasantness or is associated with outmoded practices, *e.g.* the term "inmate" is taboo in many institutions. They are called "children"—as mentally, they are.

As the number of institutions grew, certain superintendents gave much thought to the various problems connected with the efficiency of their work. Fernald of Waverley was interested in getting buildings adapted to the special needs of different groups of children. He was also strong for training, which he carried down to the lowest grades. He was very proud of the way these children, who were usually considered entirely untrainable, could pick out the reds or the blues from a pile of rags which he had provided. He also established routine activities for the various grades.

Some institutions were in cities or large villages where there was

little room for gardening or farming. Some of the superintendents began to think of having outlying groups in the country where they could have plenty of land—"colonies," they called them. Rogers of Faribault had such a colony. Fernald went many miles toward western Massachusetts, bought three abandoned farms, put some forty big boys into the remodelled houses, with a scientific farmer to direct the work—and they raised marvellous crops.

Bernstein of Rome, New York trained his big boys to do farm work and then hired them out to the neighboring farmers. As long as the farmers treated the boys right, they could get boys for any emergency. Nor did he forget the girls. He trained them to do housework; then he went into Rome, hired a house, put a trusted woman in charge and put a notice in the local paper saying that anyone needing such help could get it by applying to the woman in charge.

Johnstone of Vineland was still differently situated. Within about five miles of his institution was the great New Jersey "Pine belt"—a tract between tidewater and upland, covered with scrub pine and oak so difficult to clear and get water that no ordinary farmer would undertake it. It could be bought for a dollar an acre, or even for the asking.

Johnstone obtained, first and last, about 1,300 acres. They built a few shacks, put a group of boys out there and began clearing the land.

I asked one of the boys how they cleared the land. He replied: "We hain't cleared no land." "Well, what do you do out here?" "Oh, we don't do nothing but have bonfires." "Bonfires?" "Yes we dig up those little trees and old stumps, pile 'em up and have bonfires."

Today there are 500 acres cleared—I mean "bon-fired," and producing enormous crops—grain, potatoes, corn, peaches, and other crops.

Fort Wayne also has a farm colony. Possibly others have been started more recently.

By the time Letchworth was started, there was considerable knowledge and many reasonable ideas as to the nature of feeble-mindedness and what could and ought to be done. But it was scattered and undigested. Letchworth came just in the nick of time to gather up the loose ends and give the world an ideal institution where the best

thought of the past could be carried out and a model for the future set up under the most favorable circumstances.

In 1930 there were still four states without any provision for their feeble-minded children.

Today there are ninety state institutions including the District of Columbia and the Territory of Hawaii, including also one or two states that report "state hospital" or "children's division" of the state hospital. Besides the state institutions there are recorded 200 private "homes," and "schools." Some of these are well established and well managed, such as Vineland Training School, The Woods Schools, Devereux Schools, Stewart Home, and Beverly Farm. The capacities of these run from 100 to 500 patients. They are thus making their contribution to the work. Most of the others are run for profit and have capacities from one to sixty or eighty.

Such a jump in the number of state institutions—from approximately fifty in 1930 to ninety in 1948—calls for an explanation.

The answer is found in the work of a National Committee on Provision for the Feeble Minded (occasionally referred to in the public press, as the committee on provisions) which had been formed by a small group of public-spirited citizens. This committee was a constructive influence in every state in the union. In the four years from 1915 to 1919 extensive speaking campaigns were carried on in Arkansas, Arizona, California, Delaware, District of Columbia, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Montana, South Carolina, Utah, and Wisconsin.

Letchworth Village was getting well established and was a brilliant illustration of what could be done. And now we see what *was* done.

In the early days architecture was not much of a problem because the workers had learned to say: "I have learned in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content." In other words they were so glad to get an institution that they had no inclination to quibble over buildings.

When, however, they grew to the need of a new building, some thought was usually given to having it so built as to be adapted to its use.

State authorities were not always careful on this point. In one state, at least, the legislature appointed a committee to build the institution. They did. After it was finished they appointed a superintendent and handed him the keys. He soon discovered that his

work was seriously handicapped by the carelessness and thoughtlessness displayed in the planning and construction of the buildings.

Letchworth, planned by men of the highest intelligence and unquestioned integrity, and built by them with the advice of experts in each of the many departments stands today as a beacon for the world and a memorial to all who participated in its planning and construction.

Unique in many of its appointments, it is also unique in that its founding managers had the intelligence to appoint a superintendent before they built a building.

It was a cold disagreeable day in 1907 when two of us set out from Boston for Laconia, New Hampshire. In those days trains for Laconia were neither frequent nor very comfortable. We finally arrived about 9 p.m. A taxi covered the three or four miles out to the New Hampshire Institution for Feeble Minded. And what was the object of this tedious trip? To see the new institution and meet the new superintendent. Dr. Little was in his office, and greeted us cordially. My travelling companion was none other than Superintendent Edward R. Johnstone, himself an expert on feeble-mindedness. We sat there and the two talked until 2 a.m., then we retired to be called at 6 a.m. for an early breakfast and almost as early a train for Boston. I was a novice; but novice or expert those two men carried on a conversation that would have fascinated anyone that had the slightest interest in the subject. What is more interesting than the conversation of two people whose hearts and souls are in their work and who are full of ideas for its development to the highest and greatest usefulness! We did not sleep on the way back to Boston. We talked of the enthusiasm, the insight, and the wonderful plans this young man had for his institution.

When later we heard that he had been selected to be superintendent of the new Letchworth Village, we knew they were to be congratulated. *Little* of Letchworth and *Johnstone* of Vineland! Both have finished their work and left us two remarkable institutions.

At the moment, the cruel set-back to civilization that war always engenders has left Letchworth in an unlovely and unfortunate condition. But the times will change, and ere long the village will be restored to its pristine glory and efficiency—and not only to its former condition, but to greater usefulness than it has ever known. Nothing stands still; to stagnate is to die.

Letchworth with its magnificent start has a great future before it. It has just come of age—adolescence comes later to institutions than to humans—its real work is ahead.

There are many features of Letchworth that should be in operation wherever the feeble-minded are being cared for. One of the most important is the school. Some have no school, some have schools for only the very highest grades, and some have schools that are worse than none.

The superintendent of one of our newer state schools told the writer with great pride: "These children have the same curriculum as the public schools, only we take longer time for it." Ye gods! Shades of Itard and Seguin! of Little and Johnstone! of Fernald, and Bernstein and Rogers! Ye gods! The pity of it.

Why did I listen to such drivel? Why did I not turn and walk out? At least, why did I not frown upon it? I did not say anything because I knew that half of the people would have said "That's fine." and half of the other half would have said: "Why waste the state's money trying to teach them anything? They are idiots. They can't learn. You are wasting your time."

But the world does move. All men are better than they were a century ago. All have grown. Some have grown better than others. Not many grew to the stature of a Little, or a Storrs, or a Fernald or Johnstone.

We have seen that it was not their dull minds that first drew attention to mental defectives; it was the great showy disfigurement of the goitre that brought the cretin into the limelight. Yet there was no treatment for goitre until 1897—about ten years before Letchworth was born.

When it comes to training the mental defective, there is not yet any generally accepted method. Here is a great field for research—and it may throw light upon the education of normal children. The so-called progressive education has come in for a great deal of ridicule in some quarters. Where this is genuine disapproval, it is due to a misunderstanding. Where it is due to jealousy or unwillingness to make any change in the long-established methods, it is due to a wilful perversion of language. I have often been asked if I believe in letting children do just as they please. My reply is "Yes; but I believe in treating them so that they will 'please to do' what is right." The objectors to progressive education have unfortunately

left out the second part of the doctrine. The same principle holds with the defectives. Abundant experience has demonstrated that it is always possible so to treat them that they will want to do the things you want them to do.

You can train a dog or other pet to do what you have taught him to do; but you can't do it by whipping him every time he does not do what you want.

For a better understanding of the condition of the feeble-minded and how best to deal with it, let us take a look at the normal brain.

The brain, or cerebrum, is one part of the nervous system; other parts are the cerebellum and the spinal cord.

Structurally, this entire nervous system is made up of ten thousand million microscopic nerve cells or neurons. These neurons are different from all other cells in the body, and they differ among themselves. A nerve cell is commonly spoken of as having a cell body and one or more—usually two—fibers. What we commonly call a nerve is a bundle of a few thousand of these fibers. The neuron is now believed to be an electric unit (analagous to a "dry cell") and when it is stimulated the electric current passes from one cell to another, producing consciousness or moving a muscle according to the kind of cell activated.

The only way stimuli from outside the body can get to the brain is through the five sense organs—eye, ear, nose, tongue, and skin. All of the neurons thus stimulated are connected with muscles, so that the first effect of the stimulation is the contraction of the appropriate muscle. But simultaneously consciousness is aroused, probably as the energy passes along the sensory cell. Besides the sensory neurons and the motor neurons, there are also association neurons. These connect the different sense centers in the brain. The association neurons are very numerous, connecting every center with all the other centers.

This is the mechanism for what is called "association of ideas," or the bringing into consciousness two related consciousnesses, as when one sees a certain object and thinks (says to himself) "automobile." However, it should be noted that such a connection is not made unless the sight center and the "word-center" have both been previously activated. In other words, if you have never heard or learned the word "automobile," the sight of one will not cause you to think "automobile." The simplest way to learn it—for this is the

mechanism of learning— is to see the object and be told its name (or see a picture with the name attached). There is, however, another way; and actually it is the way much, if not most, of our thinking is done.

Sometimes we are asked: "How did you know that?" and we reply: "I didn't know it, I worked it out," or "I figured that it must be." In other words the energy from the first stimulated center did not go direct to the name center but through intermediate centers or "roundabout." For example: I see the object but never having heard its name applied to it, I may say: "What is that contraption? See it go. Where's the horse? It is horse-less. Oh yes, I have heard of horse-less carriages. Oh, what else are they called?" Then if by chance one has heard the word or seen it, it may come to him. If some one asks him about it, he is apt to say "I thought it was an automobile." That is correct. That is thinking.

So much of our thinking is of this "roundabout" kind that the science of logic has been created to make sure that we do not get lost in the maze. We are not always as sure of our reasoning as the man who was telling of a strange dream. His friend said: "Did you think you were dead?" "No," he replied, "I knew I was not dead because I was hungry and my feet were cold. I knew that if I were in Heaven I would not be hungry, and if I were in the other place my feet would not be cold."

Functionally the "nervous system" is divided into two systems: the central nervous system and the autonomic—formerly called the sympathetic system.

The central nervous system gives us consciousness or "awareness." That gives us all our thinking and all knowledge, and our daily waking life.

The autonomic system carries on all the unconscious activities of life and keeping alive, such as digestion, circulation of the blood, keeping the body at uniform temperature, glandular secretions, and the manufacture of the secretions. These are only a few of the marvellous activities of the autonomic system.

So complete is the work of the autonomic system that William James said: "Consciousness is a super-added biological perfection."

In reality, we are unconscious about a third of every day. There are many cases of persons living for long periods of time "without waking."

While the two systems are nearly complete within themselves, they are connected and under certain circumstances the energy aroused in either system may be transferred to the other. As an illustration we need only consider digestion. Normally, food once in the stomach is out of consciousness. Its workings over in the stomach and passage out and through the intestines is all unconscious. But at times something goes wrong and we become conscious of pain or nausea. We may swallow some medicine and get relief. If not, the autonomic system itself may remedy the situation by automatically emptying the stomach of its disturbing mass of food—in other words the situation is relieved by vomiting.

The most interesting case of transfer from the conscious to the unconscious system is in emotions.

Emotions—at least what are called the primary emotions seem to be a compounding of sensations for the purpose of greater energy in attack or escape. It is too big a topic for our discussion here, but a brief analysis may help us to understand the defectives.

Like all consciousness, emotion seems to start with the stimulation of a sense organ. But unlike other sensations, the emotion seems to have a complexity that often is indescribable.

For example, when I see a dog, my retina is stimulated by the light rays and these pass on to the sight center in the brain and I am conscious of the dog. It may “remind” me of one or more of my previous experiences, but each one is just another bit of consciousness.

But this time, I see a dog and immediately I am thrown into confusion. I want to run; I want to scream; my heart beats fast; my mouth gets dry; my breath comes fast. I am full of fear. That is an emotion. How does that experience differ from previous experiences with dogs? First of all, this dog looks different: he looks mad; a mad dog is dangerous; he will bite me; he has hydrophobia; I have no defense; a horrible death; there is no one to save me; I am doomed.

How do these thoughts differ from the others? They are unpleasant. Yes, that makes it an unpleasant experience, but that doesn't account for that terrible feeling which we call an emotion of fear.

The important thing about the situation is the fact that those thoughts did not come in sequence; i.e. singly; they came simultaneously. The dog that I saw meant all that to me. Had those thoughts come separately, I could have disposed of each one; but coming all

at once, I was "overcome." My brain was stimulated too much, and the overflow of energy passed over to the autonomic system. There is was distributed to the heart where it increased the rhythm; it went to the diaphragm and it vibrated, making me breathe faster; it went to the salivary glands and stopped their natural secretion. That was the violent emotion of fear: but not all of it. The heightened action of the heart, diaphragm, and perhaps other organs was a new stimulation to be sent back to the central system and constituted an added element in the already unnatural stimulation.

And what is feeble-mindedness? Apparently it is a functional defect of the brain due to an abnormal condition of the association neurons or to difficulties at the point where they connect with other neurons—the synapses.

Of all the elements of the nervous system, these are the only ones that do not function normally in the feeble-minded. These "defectives" see, hear, taste, smell, and are sensitive to touch. Therefore their sensory neurons must be sound. They are healthy and normal in all the biological functions carried on by the autonomic system, therefore that system must be normal. Their motor neurons would seem to be in normal condition. They use their muscles freely in the larger activities and can control them well in the finer adjustments as in woodwork, painting, sewing, knitting and crocheting, and the like.

The association neurons are chiefly important in thinking and reasoning. This is the field of greatest weakness in the mental defectives.

It is natural that in our efforts to help the defective to find the "roundabout" way, we should follow our own way of thinking. But we should not forget that the defective does not think as we do. And since we can never know just how any particular defective does think, we can never tell him how.

It is of interest and is some help, to remember that there are all grades of defect, and no sharp line separating them. They range imperceptibly from idiot to imbecile to moron, to low grade normal, to middle, to high grade intelligence, and the brilliant mind.

In matters of education, it is seldom wise to start where the trouble is greatest. If we begin with reasoning, we are blocked at once. The mental defective does not reason. Where then shall we begin?

Of all his mental functions, the mental defective seems most

normal in his emotions. He is joyous and happy: he can be sad and unhappy. He laughs and he cries. His chief abnormality in this field is lack of control—and that comes normally from the intellect. It is not uncommon for a feeble-minded child to laugh loudly and long at some little thing that has pleased him.

Here would seem to be the place to begin his education. Not only are the pleasant emotions most desirable, but they are the only ones that will lead to action. A feeble-minded person is completely normal in this: he will do anything in the world—that he can do—for any one that he likes: And he likes those who like him. Make him unhappy and he “shuts up like a clam.” The figure is perfect because a clam shuts promptly and tightly. It follows that we must first make him happy and keep him happy. Then we can be perfectly sure that if he does not do what we ask him to do, it is because he cannot do it. That in turn shows us the next step: we must not ask him to do what we want. On the contrary we must find out what he wants to do and with that as a starting point, help him to work out his plan and elaborate it as far as possible. (It must be understood that I am speaking of teaching a new topic or action.)

This is the idea that has been formulated by one of the most successful teachers of the feeble-minded. For twenty five years Meta Anderson was in charge of the work for backward and defective children in the public schools of Newark, New Jersey. She early discovered and taught: “If you are going to help these mental defectives, you must get down where they are.”

Unfortunately, this is not easy for us to carry out. It seems so natural to want to make them like ourselves, that we cannot think of anything else. But both reason and experience tell us that they are not like us and can never become like us. If they were from another planet we would be intensely interested to find out what they are like. That must be our attitude here.

This has another advantage. We not only get down to where they are but we make them happy because we are interested in them. And they make every effort to please us. Thus we help them to live their own lives in their own way, which is what we want.

Willie J. was a big boy. When he came to the institution he was very troublesome. Apparently he had always been misunderstood at home and mistreated because he did not “do as he was told.” He could not talk—only a few indistinct sounds, and it seemed to be

impossible to please him. One day he appeared at the manual training room. He had in his hand a toy rabbit—a thin piece of board cut in the shape of a rabbit, and with a picture of the rabbit on it. Some teachers would have sent him away. Miss W. the teacher knew all about him and might have thought “Oh, there is that nuisance. Nobody can do anything with him.” If she had called one of her brighter boys and told him to take Willie back to his cottage, it might have been thought that she had done the right thing. But that was not Miss W.’s way. She met Willie with a smile, looked at his rabbit and said “You want to make one like that?” Willie grinned and gave a grunt that signified “Yes.” “All right, Willie, come over here to the bench.” And she got a piece of board and a saw, laid Willie’s rabbit on the board, ran a pencil around the contour and gave it to Willie. After seeing him start, she left him to do what he liked. After some time he came to her and held out his work. To her utter amazement, he had cut out a very decent rabbit.

That was the beginning of life for Willie. He began to talk a little in monosyllables. Miss W. understood not only his speech, but his desires. She took him through a series of objects of increasing difficulty, and Willie mastered them all. The last I knew, he had made a large heavy chair and an office desk that no one need be ashamed of. Miss W. told me that Willie did practically all of the work, and made his own measurements. Probably on account of his difficulty with language, he had been taken for a much lower grade defective than he was; and consequently nobody had made any great effort to get down to where he was. Once understood, from an unhappy troublesome boy, he became a happy useful member of his group. He is now leading a normal life. I do not mean a life that would be normal for you or for me, but normal for him. He is handicapped and limited in his capacity; but once understood and given an opportunity, he can be happy and contribute something—though it be ever so little—to the general welfare.

This is the research age. The discoveries already reported read like the fairy stories of the Middle Ages. Yet no fairy stories ever pictured such wonders as the chemists and physicists have shown us or as the modern telescopes are revealing. And they tell us that they have only scratched the surface. And we have not gone deeper only because there are not enough scientists “to go around.”

We must have more geniuses! But what is a genius? Who knows?

That is the other end of the problem "What is idiocy?" Solve the one and you have a good start on the other. The defective is the easier place to begin. If there are not more of them—as it would seem—at least they are more available for study. Our institutions are full. Records are being kept, that only need to be a little more elaborate and based on actual measurements and tests, to give the future investigators of the brain all they need to correlate the two sets of facts.

It is amazing that we have learned how to split the atom; but it will be far more exciting when we learn to split the chromosome!

Here again Letchworth will lead. Its research work began with the founding. Many valuable papers have appeared; more will follow. If one were a prophet, he might predict that ultimately, without change of name, Letchworth Village will be known to the world as one of the great research centers of the United States—or of the world. Why not? The problems are legion. The material is here. Four thousand subjects anxiously waiting to be examined physically as well as mentally. What an opportunity! It will all come about gradually of course. But it would be well for the finance committee to be creating a fund that can be drawn upon whenever the conditions are favorable. Such a fund once started would quickly be supplemented by private citizens, who only need to be assured that their money will not be wasted by inexpert researchers.

It has been well said that if society has to support these unfortunates, society should get something out of it. And can they get anything more valuable than a knowledge of what feeble-mindedness really is and how it is best treated?

It is a well established fact that, as a rule, the time of greatest achievements, greatest usefulness and greatest influence, is the time of struggle against seemingly insurmountable difficulties. That is the time when everyone's energies are exerted to the highest degree and breath-taking results are being achieved.

This is true of individuals, institutions and corporations. When the end is attained, everybody relaxes, as is proper. One must relax after an extreme effort. But now comes the unfortunate ending.

After a reasonable rest and recuperation, one should be ready to tackle the next big job. But if there is no big job in sight at the moment, it is easy to get the habit of "taking it easy" and letting all but the most necessary duties "go by the board." For an in-

dividual, this may be only a premature retirement; but for an institution or corporation it usually spells relegation to oblivion.

For the corporation, it is fatal. Eternal vigilance is the price of success. New times call for new adjustments and renewed energy, but the management is tired and lets things slide. There is nothing in sight that is interesting enough to call forth all one's energies.

Letchworth Village is the child of a big corporation—the great State of New York. This arm of the business of the great corporation is concerned not only with rescuing the unfortunates who without help would “perish miserably”; but is predominantly concerned with rescuing the rest of us from the mistakes, blunders and atrocities of these same incompetents. For the health of a city the sewage system is just as important as the water supply.

Letchworth Village will recover from the evil effects of the war. It will make some additions, a few alterations and adjustments. Then it will be complete: an ideally perfect, smooth-running organization. So well planned, so complete in all its appointments that it almost runs itself. Then everybody relaxes with the comfortable feeling “The job is done! No more hard work. We can take it easy.”

The next step: the oldest inhabitants are telling strangers and the rising generation what a wonderful institution Letchworth Village used to be.

That such a calamity might happen, there is abundant evidence in history. But Letchworth has already forestalled such a result. It has a research department. Research is the life blood of institutions. It is the inspirer of genius. It is a loadstone that draws its devotees ever on to greater exertion, to achieve greater results. Sometimes, indeed, it lures them too far and health is impaired. That should not be. But yet

To every man upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late;
And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his gods?

But the children, you say, what of them?

They are not being disturbed. They enjoy it. It gives them the

"recognition" that they crave. They love to be talked to, questioned, to be handled and to be "treated," even when it might seem that they were being "treated rough." In one institution, eighty children were given spinal punctures, for Wassermans. Not one child made any fuss. One boy thought he didn't want it. The Doctor said "All right Charlie. If you don't want it you don't have to have it." He went back to his bed. It was not a half hour until he was trying to get his "turn."

At another time twelve big boys were sterilized. Not one complained. They laughed about it a little.

It is generally not difficult to get permits for autopsies, if a field-worker or nurse explains it to the parents. It cannot usually be done by writing. They cannot understand the written explanation.

Letchworth Village! A name to conjure with: synonymous of all that is best in connection with the care and training of the most needy group of all neglected human beings: those born with too little mentality to be able to make their own way in a busy, selfish world.

A name that honors a great humanist who devoted the best years of his life, and his fortune to bettering the condition of his unfortunate fellow countrymen.

That it is called a "village" emphasises the fact that its members are, so far as their mentality permits, and with the help of caretakers, a free and self-determining community, living what is to them a normal life—a life adapted to their limited abilities.

The old idea of custodial care for a group of animal-like human beings, herded in barracks, half fed and with a minimum of care is gone forever. Instead we have a well-regulated home for 4,000 humans who would otherwise be compelled to live as outcasts, more scorned than pitied.

Letchworth has solved the problem of numbers. In the old days it was argued that institutions must be small—and therefore expensive—because nobody could manage a great horde of such "creatures." The problem was solved by the simple device of classifying the 4,000 into groups of five hundred to six hundred each, with all six groups under one management. Each group would thus be more homogeneous, more happy among themselves and more easily cared for.

Thoughtful attention to details has resulted in a well-nigh perfect material equipment. The same intelligent thoughtfulness for the helpers and caretakers results in a happy and efficient community.

In 1893 a great educator uttered these words on the occasion of an annual celebration at an institution for the feeble-minded:

To me an institution for the feeble-minded is a human laboratory and a garden where unfortunate children are cared for, protected and loved while they unconsciously whisper to us syllable by syllable the secrets of the soul's growth. It may very well be that the most ignorant shall teach us most.

RESUME AND PROSPECT

The problems of the feeble-minded stem from a group of healthy but abnormal people who because of a brain defect, located probably in the association fibers—or in their synapses—are “unable to manage their own affairs with ordinary prudence.”

These cases come from all walks of life—the rich, the poor, the high-born and the low-born, the genius and the mentally defective. It is estimated that approximately 65 per cent are hereditary, the rest due to some cause acting during intrauterine life whereby certain types of brain cells do not develop to the point of normal efficiency.

Since these abnormals do come from all classes, nations and tribes, it is hardly possible to consider that the condition derives from any postnatal accident, or treatment.

The only other “abnormal” condition that is described, *paripassu*, in similar terms is the genius. May it be that there is some substance—perhaps chemical—that is produced normally as one element in reproduction; and which is produced or utilized in an amount that does not usually vary much, but at the extremes it produces strange products; too much giving us the genius, too little the mental defective. One thinks of drugs—digitalis for example: too much kills the patient, too little has no effect, the right amount kills the disease germ and saves the patient.

In any case the so called “mental defective” must be recognized as more than “merely less intelligent.” He, almost literally, belongs to a different race, or perhaps a different species. He is a *homo* but surely not a *homo sapiens*, perhaps *homo incompetus*.

Whatever we call him, we must treat him for what he is. To that end we must study him, and treat him in accordance with what we find.

By such means we can make him happy and somewhat useful—depending upon his own idiosyncrasies.

Now, by way of clinching the argument—if any— I would like to take you, in imagination, to an actual school in an institution for the feeble-minded. It too is called a village—the Village of Happiness. You can think “Letchworth Village.” Though it was not written about Letchworth, it might have been. It would be just as true of Letchworth. It was written by Joseph P. Byers who lived at the institution about which he wrote and saw it all.

THE VILLAGE SCHOOL AT THE VILLAGE OF HAPPINESS

The training of mentally deficient children was from the beginning the purpose of the village. There was no thought that these children could be thus prepared for self-sustaining and self-directing lives in the great world. It was patent that they could not compete on equal terms with the economic and social forces of a complex civilization. Therefore it was necessary that a different but complete world should be created for them—one in which their limitations would be recognized, their capacities for usefulness developed, and facilities provided for using their productive and creative powers.

It was becoming more and more evident that the public school systems, with respect to these children, were floundering about, more and more conscious of failure and calling for help. There were various reasons for this: lack of facilities; over-sized classes; teachers under-trained and inexperienced in the handling of backward and difficult children forced upon them by “the system”; the absence of any approved scientific method of individual classification in regard to mental levels of children, with consequent mass grouping on the basis of chronological age.

The school at the village was destined to furnish help in generous measure. It had recognized these difficulties from the first; it had realized the essential need of understanding its children, not *en masse* but individually. It knew that this understanding must be reached through patient, persevering study of each child by specially trained teachers, cottage and other employees; that every possible facility in the way of equipment for school and manual instruction, for recreation, physical development, useful and directed work adjusted to their capacity, scientific research, diet habit training, any and everything to supply their *needs*, must be utilized.

There were nearly two hundred fifty of these *different*, difficult, and misunderstood children in the village by 1900. The first im-

portant step for them had been taken when they were rescued from homes and schools where they had been compelled to compete with, or at least were judged by, the standards of normal children. The village had these boys and girls voluntarily. Therefore its responsibility to and for them was all the greater.

During the early years of the village its methods of training, adjusted to the individual needs and capacities of its slowed-up children, were drawing it into the educational spot-light. Educators, teachers and others were asking questions from a distance or coming to learn at first hand. Researches early showed the necessity of conforming the life of the individual child to a level adjusted to his capacity to occupy continuously without undue effort. Apparently light responsibilities placed upon them, though seemingly well within their physical and mental powers and carried for a while without apparent strain, resulted in breakdowns if carried too long. Here was clear evidence that the level of life for such children in their own little world must not be too high.

Susie, for example, had done well in her school classes, in bed-making, dishwashing, laundry work. Because she was apt, neat, ambitious, she was placed in the officers' dining room as a waitress. For many months there was no evidence that the finer and more exacting responsibilities and the new atmosphere in which she worked for three hours a day were beyond the normal use of her powers. Presently, however she showed signs of fatigue, lost weight, spilled food, dropped dishes. Susie was getting nervous. She was making every effort to force herself to keep up the pace. The harder she tried, the more mistakes she made. She was unhappy. The hill had been too steep for her—yet she had climbed it and reached the higher plane. She had succeeded. For many months she had lived joyously and worked happily on this higher plane; but it was too high—the atmosphere too rare to sustain her much longer. She did not realize that she was already stumbling toward the precipice. Her stumbles were spilled coffee, dropped dishes, inattention, over-anxiousness, hurry and consequent mistakes. She was using the last of her nerve to keep up with the other girls. The going was too hard. Fear—fear of failure, held her.

What would have happened to Susie if she had been working out side for her living? She'd have lost her job. And then? The answer to that is found in the lives of the hundreds of thousands of Susies

who are all about us, striving just to live; struggling blindly with with their own incapacity against callous indifference and misunderstanding. If only society could see what it looks at—and understand.

What did happen to this Susie? Well, there were seeing and understanding eyes in that dining room. At the weekly meeting of the "Children's Committee," there was a consultation over Susie. Beyond question something must be done. It was. Susie got a few days of quietness in the hospital. Then her readjustment was placed in the hands of the school principal.

She didn't take Susie from the dining room,—the sense of failure that would have been Susie's if that had happened would have completed her downfall. No, Susie was promoted from the dining room to the domestic science classroom. Domestic science is part of the school curriculum. The domestic science teacher wanted a girl helper. She wanted Susie, who could do many of the simpler tasks, even aiding with the less competent and younger girls, and all without carrying too heavy a load of responsibility. Susie's fear subsided; the going was easier. Her happiness returned.

The village school is different from other schools. It does many common sense things that are not common in other schools, public or other. First of all it adjusts the school to each child instead of making each child adjust himself to an inflexible system. It recognizes that every boy and girl has individual aptitudes, capacities, tastes, physical and mental possibilities, and habits. It undertakes the teaching, training and molding of the children as it studies and learns what these are. In this study of each child the school has the help of the research laboratory, the physicians, and hospital, the family history, conduct and habit reports from cottage officers, and, best of all, the years of accumulated experience and wisdom of the school principal. With all these things as a foundation, it patiently and persistently, day after day, month after month, and year after year, teaches to that child just those things it is able to learn and can make use of when it is grown up. The result of this system is seen all over the village. Under experienced supervision the boys and girls are doing or assisting to do all the work of the village. It can be seen also in other schools where a similar system has been adopted.

All the activities of the village center around the school. It is in the school that the children are taught and trained for future citizen-

ship in the village. It is here that, through habit and character training, nature studies, music, games and plays, elemental instruction in the "3 R's," physical education, domestic science, industrial arts and manual trades, and personal hygiene, they are led through paths of happiness to fields of usefulness.

The school classes are small, seldom above ten pupils, boys or girls, never mixed. Their school life continues as long as they benefit from it. At its close, a place suited to their abilities, however great or small, is found for them in the village. Here under continued direction, they are made to feel that they are of importance in the scheme of things. And so they are, for each, according to his or her ability, contributes to the general welfare and to the spirit of happiness that pervades the village.

In an intellectual sense the children of the village, no matter what their age, always retain the qualities of childhood and youth, babyhood to early adolescence. They like to sing, to dance, to play, to make believe. They have sensitive souls which wilt under censure, bloom under praise. They have a charming lack of self-consciousness. The spirit of competition is strong among them. They, like all children, are affectionate, acquisitive, generous, selfish, impulsive, inconsistent. They yield to patient, persistent, intelligent and kindly leading. They are like other children, but they are different. It is wonderful to see how much a three or four up to ten or twelve year-old mind is able to do with a twenty or thirty or fifty year old body. It is equally wonderful to see how their mature bodies have been adjusted to the world of childhood in which they live.

The school of the village is the mechanism by which these qualities have been reconciled. Its influence is not confined to classroom and manual training shops. The singing it teaches is heard in the cottages, at the frequent assemblies and parties. Cottage life is brightened by its games. The competition it inspires encourages effort, stirs imagination. Monthly birthday parties for all of the children born in that particular month; Tuesday, Friday and Sunday assemblies; holiday celebrations; pageants; costumed plays and operettas; contests in skill, prowess and ingenuity; any and everything in which children find enjoyment, profit and happiness, all of these give opportunities for the school to utilize its training in a practical way and to broaden its field of usefulness.

There is one noteworthy feature of the children's assemblies seldom

if ever seen elsewhere in any assembly of children. It is inevitable that occasionally someone forgets, makes a mistake, gets stalled, has to start over or leave the stage, the piece unfinished. When this happens there is never any giggling or nudging or derisive smiles in the audience. Rather unusual courtesy, that.

The outstanding event of the year for the entire village is the Christmas play. Sometimes it is an operetta,—“Pinafore,” “Mikado,” “Chimes of Normandy,” “Pirates of Penzance”—or at least a play with plenty of music and dancing. The theatre seats all of the children. It has everything needed in the way of scenery and lighting effects. There are always two performances, one for the children, the other for grown-ups and guests. Preparations begin weeks prior to Christmas. After the play has been chosen, the selection of the cast and chorus is made and rehearsals start. Wardrobes and other properties are overhauled. New scenery, costumes and furniture needed to give the play its proper setting and periods are made in the school shops and classrooms. A new department of dramatic and musical arts flourishes for about two months, directed by the school principal and engaging the activities of nearly half of the pupils. Rehearsals continue until the cast, chorus, dancers and ‘supers’ (if any) are letter perfect in their parts and action. There must be no slips or faults in the Christmas play and there are none.

Self-consciousness is a great block to many people. The lack of it in these children gives to their performance a simple naturalness and freedom from stumbling that makes them a joy to their audiences.

The 1932 Christmas play was “Briar Rose.” Of course there was the beautiful Briar Rose herself, almost carried off by the medieval villain assisted by a fearsome witch. Almost too late the medieval hero foiled the witch, who fled screaming away into outer darkness, defeated the medieval villain and rescued the leading lady. There were three acts, with plenty of music, singing, dancing, action and scenery, all as medieval as need be. Ninety children took part (grown-ups do not appear in the village plays) and the performances went off without a break or jar—amidst frequent and loud applause from the audience.

The art of making the accomplishment of work seem but play has been highly developed. For most of the children there is a necessary daily routine of short and varied tasks which avoids overloading and prevents boredom.

Beginning in the school and continuing as long as they remain in the village, they have their own powers supplemented and directed by those who understand. In no other way could life be made real for them, and worth while and safe. The whole life of the village is built upon its simple creed, "Happiness First."

CHILDREN AND YOUTH

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ACCOUNT OF SOPHIA AND ABBEY
CARTER AND LAURA BRIDGMAN.

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